1979

A Rhetorical Study of Selected Ceremonial Speeches of Charles Betts Galloway, 1893-1908.

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A RHETORICAL STUDY OF SELECTED CEREMONIAL SPEECHES OF CHARLES BETTS GALLOWAY, 1893-1908

The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col. PH.D. 1979

A RHETORICAL STUDY OF SELECTED CEREMONIAL SPEECHES OF CHARLES BETTS GALLOWAY, 1893-1908

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

In

The Department of Speech

by
Charlene Jeanette Handford
B.A., Arkansas College, 1963
M.A., University of Arkansas, 1968
December 1979

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

While the author is indebted to numerous individuals for their encouragement and assistance, major contributors include the following:

Dr. Harold Mixon for his patience, support, and careful editing...

Dr. Waldo W. Braden for suggesting the topic and for his insights in southern oratory...

Dr. Clinton Bradford, Dr. John Pennybacker, and Dr. Fabian Gudas for their editing and suggestions...

Mr. Danny Champion for providing materials from his own research on Galloway...

and the administration, faculty, staff, and students at Louisiana State University in Shreveport for their encouragement and understanding.

Truly, this writer was blessed with overwhelming support from colleagues and friends. Yet, one individual, more than any other, deserves her deepest gratitude. Because he threatened, nagged, pleaded, inspired, and refused to let the author give up, this dissertation is dedicated to Dr. Dalton Cloud.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyzes six ceremonial addresses delivered by Charles Betts Galloway between 1893 and 1908. Of the six discourses the occasions included the dedication of Millsaps College, the dedication of a new state capitol, the Seventh Annual Conference for Education in the South, a commencement day address, and two lecture series. Dedicated to a variety of causes, Galloway utilized these ceremonial events to express his personal sentiments regarding the value of Christian education, the role of the New South, educational and legal justice for blacks, the actions of Jefferson Davis and the South before and during the Civil War, the church's support of missions, and the influence of Protestant Christianity over government.

The study produced five conclusions. First, Galloway apparently took great care in researching and preparing his speeches. Often stating or clearly implying his theme and purpose, the orations suggest that the speaker followed a carefully thought-out plan. His personal scrapbook contains clippings of quotations, lines of verse, etc., which he possibly utilized in his public discourses, and his oratory occasionally contained ideas employed by other speakers such

as the separate-but-equal theory of race relations previously advocated by Booker T. Washington in his "Atlanta Exposition Address." Not totally dominated by unrealistic idealism, Galloway's orations reveal a practical strategist who worked as best he could with what opportunities were available and utilized his knowledge of his region, his education, and his extensive travels as sources.

Second, Galloway took up the New South cause as a result of his experiences in the South before, during, and after the Civil War. Undoubtedly his years as a student at the University of Mississippi among such Confederate veterans as L. Q. C. Lamar made a lasting impression. As a young minister he took up such controversial causes as prohibition, and during his years as a bishop he was more outspoken on behalf of equal opportunities for blacks and other progressive ideas, defying powerful leaders such as James K. Vardaman. Unlike the politician who was forced to worry about the next election and the minister who could be relocated, Galloway's secure position within the church and his high level of ethos enabled him to speak out on political and social ideas. These circumstances combined to make him a logical person to assume the role of a New South spokesman in Mississippi.

Third, through his praise of the South's great past and heroic leaders, Galloway encouraged a feeling of self

confidence within that region, thereby paving the way for the advocacy of the New South creed.

Fourth, in some ways Galloway was similar to other New South advocates who were too young to have served in the Civil War but reached maturity during Reconstruction. Specifically, Galloway held other traits in common with spokesmen such as Walter Hines Page of North Carolina and Richard Hathaway Edmonds of Virginia who wanted educational benefits for blacks and Bishop Atticus Green Haygood of Georgia and Henry Watterson of Kentucky who sought an end to sectionalism. Though the South possessed a scattering of New South advocates, largely centered in the southeastern states, Galloway was apparently the major spokesman in Mississippi.

Fifth, in spite of the limited circumstances of his time and region, Galloway was immensely popular and managed to assert influence over social and political issues and to determine the course of events within his state. However, his primary significance seems as a forerunner of others who were to follow with more liberal ideas, his oratory marking the beginning of a long and arduous campaign for progress and civil liberties in Mississippi.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Charles Betts Galloway, minister, bishop, orator, lived in Mississippi during his entire lifetime from 1849-1909. In his youth, he experienced turbulent times as he witnessed the plight of the South during the Civil War and entered college during the period of Reconstruction. Choosing the ministry as his profession, Galloway achieved prominence among the Methodists and eventually became a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. An often-sought-after speaker, he promoted numerous causes.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

A prominent figure in post-Civil War Mississippi, Galloway made many contributions. He organized two colleges, helped raise funds for Millsaps College in Jackson, Mississippi, and in 1905 was appointed President of the Board of Trustees of Vanderbilt University. He was also a member of the Trustees of the State Department of Archives and History in Mississippi, the author of numerous articles, and editor of the New Orleans Christian Advocate.

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As a southerner who lived before, during, and after

the Civil War, Galloway was in some respects unique. According to Edward Mayes, Galloway "was in every fiber a devoted Mississippian" and proud to be a southerner.[1] However, he did not hesitate to speak out on controversial issues such as mob-law, ethics in politics, prohibition, and educational opportunities for blacks. Avoiding the cloistered life of a minister limited to Sunday morning sermons, Galloway was available to numerous groups with speeches appropriate for various occasions. According to Mayes, "It was in oratory and speech production that Galloway's talent found its chief expression."[2]

While the minister's speaking career spanned the years of Reconstruction through the first nine years of the new century, a period of transition and turmoil in the South, this study examines Galloway's ceremonial oratory between 1893 and 1908, the latter years of his life. While urging commercial development and equal opportunities for blacks, the minister remained dedicated to his church, frequently speaking in favor of missions and the benefits of Christianity. Since Galloway's speaking career was broad in scope, this

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[1] Edward Mayes, "Charles Betts Galloway," Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, XI (1910), 24.

[2] Ibid.

dissertation seeks to provide a rhetorical analysis of selected addresses which exemplify two aspects of his oratory: his speeches at special occasions and his lectures.

JUSTIFICATION

Various articles indicating the possibilities and values of studies in southern oratory have appeared in speech journals and numerous theses and dissertations dealing with southern orators have been written, though apparently the majority of rhetorical studies deal with persuasion rather than ceremonial speeches. However, examples of the latter do exist. A thesis by Audrey W. Dreyfuss entitled "A Rhetorical Analysis of the Two Inaugural Addresses of Jefferson Davis" and Howard Dorgan's dissertation entitled "Southern Apologetic Themes, as Expressed in Selected Ceremonial Speaking of Confederate Veterans, 1889-1900" are two examples which have dealt with ceremonial speaking in the South.[3] Others include Barbara Walsh's "The Negro and his Education: Persuasive Strategies of Selected Speeches at the Conference for

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[3]Audrey W. Dreyfuss, "A Rhetorical Analysis of the Two Inaugural Addresses of Jefferson Davis" (unpublished Master thesis, University of Alabama, 1950); Howard Dorgan, "Southern Apologetic Themes, as Expressed in Selected Ceremonial Speaking of Confederate Veterans, 1889-1900" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1971).

Education in the South, 1898-1914," Walter Stuart Towns' "Ceremonial Speaking and the Reinforcing of American Nationalism in the South, 1875-1890," Jeter Louis Campbell's "A Study of Amplification in Five Epideictic Speeches on Education in the South, 1891-1903," and Keith Howard Griffin's "A Rhetorical Biography of Walter Hines Page with Reference to His Ceremonial Speaking on Southern Education, 1891-1913."[4]

Though Charles Betts Galloway was a prominent figure in his time, apparently no theses or dissertations have dealt with any aspect of his life or speaking. A search through Dissertation Abstracts up to June of 1975, the Bibliographic Annual in Speech Communication for the years of 1970-73, and The Speech Monographs for the years prior to the publication of the Bibliographic Annual in Speech Communication

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[4]Barbara Hulbert Walsh, "The Negro and His Education: Persuasive Strategies of Selected Speeches at the Conference for Education in the South, 1898-1914" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1974); Walter Stuart Towns, "Ceremonial Speaking and the Reinforcing of American Nationalism in the South, 1875-1890" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Florida, 1972); Jeter Louis Campbell, III, "A Study of Amplification in Five Epideictic Speeches on Education in the South" (unpublished Master Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1972); Keith Howard Griffin, "A Rhetorical Biography of Walter Hines Page with Reference to His Ceremonial Speaking on Southern Education, 1891-1913" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1977).

produced no record of existing theses or dissertations on Galloway. This study seeks to fill that void.

THE NATURE OF GALLOWAY'S ORATORY

Aristotle indicated that there are three divisions of oratory: political, forensic, and the ceremonial [oratory of display], which he referred to as "epideictic."[5] He also defined these divisions as follows:

> Political speaking urges us either to do or not to do something: one of these two courses is always taken by private counsellors, as well as by men who address public assemblies. Forensic speaking either attacks or defends somebody: one of the other of these two things must always be done by the parties in a case. The ceremonial oratory of display either praises or censures somebody.[6]

Today the scope of ceremonial speaking has been broadened to encompass many different speaking occasions. Edward P. J. Corbett notes how ceremonial speaking differs from judicial and deliberative speaking:

> Ceremonial discourse differs from deliberative discourse in that its primary object is to praise or censure someone, not to persuade me to do or not to do something. It differs from judicial discourse in

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[5] Rhys Roberts (trans.), The Rhetoric of Aristotle (New York: Random House, 1954), p. 32.

[6] Ibid.

> that it does not deal primarily or exclusively with the characters of men charged with crime or misconduct. Unless we recognize this third category, we have no place to put such discourses as Fourth of July speeches, funeral orations, nominating speeches at political conventions, sermons, obituaries, profiles, letters of reference, citations, and those remarks that masters of ceremony make in introducing a featured speaker. These forms are clearly distinct from deliberative or judicial discourse.[7]

Though Alan Monroe does not use the terms epideictic or ceremonial, he formulates the same general definition for the speech to stimulate or inspire presented at "memorials, dedications, [and] commencement exercises," and notes that custom requires the speaker to address certain ideals "to which people give lip service but which need periodic revivication if they are to be retained as powerful forces in daily life."[8] Monroe continues; "The speaker must endeavor not only to stimulate his listeners but also, whenever possible, to direct them toward a definite course of action."[9] Giles W. Gray and Waldo Braden give a similar definition:

> In our own day there are many occasions for speeches of praise or blame, or what we refer to in this chapter

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[7]Edward P. J. Corbett, Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 152.

[8]Alan H. Monroe, Principles and Types of Speech (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1962), pp. 389-390.

[9]Ibid., p. 391.

> as speeches to stimulate: commencements, inaugurations, anniversaries, memorials, academy meetings.[10]

Delivered before listeners likely in favor of the ideas presented and on occasions of a ceremonial nature, Galloway's addresses and lectures analyzed in this study fall under the category of ceremonial speaking. Clearly the addresses delivered at the dedication of Millsaps College, the dedication of the new state capitol, the opening session of the Conference for Education in the South, and commencement at the University of Mississippi fit the requirements for ceremonial oratory. Classification of the remaining two addresses in this study as ceremonial oratory is not so clear-cut. However, it seems appropriate to consider them as a part of Galloway's ceremonial speaking for two reasons. First, in the Aristotelian categories there is no other place to fit these speeches. They are not forensic or deliberative; only epideictic speaking remains as a possible classification. Second, Donald C. Bryant supports classifying the lectures as ceremonial speaking. Writing in the Quarterly Journal of Speech in 1953, Bryant noted that while the Aristotelian tripartite division has its problems, the

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[10] Giles W. Gray and Waldo W. Braden, Public Speaking: Principles and Practice (New York: Harper and Row, 1951), p. 380.

"success of his categories, even so, is remarkable." A part of that success stems from the function of the "epideictic" category as a "miscellaneous" division into which speech types not fitting "forensic" and "deliberative" speaking could be placed. The inclusion of the "epideictic" division provides a place in the Aristotelian scheme for including "the primarily informative and instructional as well as the demonstrative and exhibitionistic."[11] To a degree, the two lectures included in this study include elements both of information and instruction as well as dealing with the Aristotelian ceremonial topics of praise and blame. The lectures have therefore been classified as ceremonial oratory.

The study analyzes six speeches in the following order:

1. "Address at the Dedication of Millsaps College," delivered in Jackson, Mississippi, on June 13, 1893.
2. "Oration at the Dedication of the New Capitol of Mississippi," delivered in Jackson, Mississippi, on June 3, 1903.
3. "The South and the Negro," delivered to the Seventh Annual Conference for Education in the South, Birmingham,

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[11] Donald C. Bryant, "Rhetoric: Its Functions and Its Scope," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXXIX, 4 (December 1953), 405.

Alabama, April 26, 1904.

4. "The Life and Times of Jefferson Davis," delivered at the University of Mississippi in Oxford, Mississippi, on commencement day, June 3, 1908.

5. "The Question Stated: Or The Answering Voice of History," the first of Galloway's Cole lectures delivered at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee, on May 3, 1896.

6. "Religion and Civil Government," the first of Galloway's Quillian lectures delivered at Emory College in Oxford, Georgia, on March 22, 1898.

SOURCES AND CONTRIBUTORY STUDIES

In an attempt not only to determine the basic events in Galloway's life, but also to provide insight into his personality, this study utilized two biographies, sketches in journals, letters, and his own writings.[12] In addition, historical information regarding the times in which Galloway lived and spoke was gathered and analyzed in an effort to understand Galloway the speaker as well as his listeners. Such information included books and articles about Mississippi

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[12] Warren A. Candler, Bishop Charles Betts Galloway (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1927); William Larkin Duren, Charles Betts Galloway, Orator and "Prince of Christian Chivalry" (Atlanta, Georgia: Banner Press, 1932).

between the antebellum period and 1909, the South in general, the Methodist movement in America and in Mississippi, and background information regarding the settings and purposes of the individual addresses.

The original manuscripts of the speeches delivered for special occasions and his lectures were not available. Copies of his orations were obtained from a volume of addresses by Galloway, Great Men and Great Movements, A Volume of Addresses by Galloway.[13] Likewise, the Cole lectures were published in book form and entitled Modern Missions: Their Evidential Value as were the Quillian lectures which were published under the title of Christianity and the American Commonwealth; or, The Influence of Christianity in Making this Nation.[14]

PLAN OF ANALYSIS

The speeches are analyzed according to the following

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[13] Charles Betts Galloway, Great Men and Great Movements, A Volume of Addresses by Galloway (Nashville: Publishing House Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1914).

[14] Charles Betts Galloway, Modern Missions: Their Evidential Value (Nashville: Publishing House Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1896); Charles Betts Galloway, Christianity and the American Commonwealth; or, The Influence of Christianity in Making this Nation (Nashville: Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1898).

plan adapted from previous studies of ceremonial speaking:[15]

I. Introduction

II. General background

III. Specific occasion

IV. Audience

V. Speech

A. Purpose

B. Theme

C. Basic premises

D. Lines of argument

E. Organization

F. Forms of support

G. Ethical appeals

H. Emotional appeals

I. Other distinctive elements

VI. Assessment

Various scholars in the field of rhetorical criticism note the necessity of analyzing a speech in its historical setting. Thonssen, Baird, and Braden comment that,

> Although almost a truism, it cannot be overemphasized that speeches are events occurring in highly complex

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[15]Griffin, op. cit.; Raymond W. Buchanan, Jr., "The Epideictic Speaking of Robert Love Taylor Between 1891 and 1906" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1970); Campbell, op. cit.

> situations, that responsibility of critical appraisals depends heavily upon the critic's ability to understand the historical trends, the motivating forces, the immediate occasion, and most of all the composition and demands of the audience.[16]

In making a similar observation regarding audiences, Robert Cathcart states:

> The critic makes his interpretation in this area of interaction between speaker and audience. He must understand audiences and recognize the part they play in shaping the speech and in giving meaning to the speaker's rhetorical choices.[17]

In his book Critical Dimensions: The Art of Public Address Criticism, Anthony Hillbruner likewise writes:

> That no speech is made in a vacuum is a truism in public address study. To be more explicit, every speech, especially a significant one, not only is the invention of the speaker, but a product of the time, the occasion and the audience.[18]

A speaker may support his ideas in any number of ways. Defined by Milton Dickens as "means to clarify, reinforce, or prove a point," a speaker may utilize any of the principal forms which includes explanation, description, instances,

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[16]Lester Thonssen, A. Craig Baird, and Waldo W. Braden, Speech Criticism (2nd ed.; New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1970), pp. 347-348.

[17]Robert S. Cathcart, Post Communication, Criticism and Evaluation (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merril Company Inc., 1966), p. 64.

[18]Anthony Hillbruner, Critical Dimensions: The Art of Public Address Criticism (New York: Random House, 1966), p. 9.

quotations, and statistics.[19] Obviously this list is not complete; other scholars, in defining supporting materials as providing explanation or proof, include analogy or comparison, illustration, testimony, and restatement.[20]

Thonssen, Baird, and Braden see emotional proofs as "designed to put the listener in a frame of mind to reach favorably and conformably to the speaker's purpose."[21] Robert Oliver notes that emotional appeals are difficult to tag and define in that "there are many emotions, each very different from the other."[22] He adds that "ever since Aristotle's pioneer effort in the Rhetoric, an unsolved problem has been to work out a satisfactory classification of the emotions."[23] Alan Monroe and Douglas Ehninger approach this task by devising a list of motive appeals which are as follows: acquisition and saving, adventure, companionship,

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[19]Milton Dickens, Speech, Dynamic Communication (3d ed.; New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovick, Inc., 1954), p. 73.

[20]Alan H. Monroe and Douglas Ehninger, Principles of Speech Communication (6th ed.; Atlanta: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1969), p. 130.

[21]Thonssen, Baird, and Braden, op. cit., p. 428.

[22]Robert T. Oliver, The Psychology of Persuasive Speech (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1968), p. 254.

[23]Ibid.

creativity, curiosity, destruction, fear, fighting, imitation, independence, loyalty, personal enjoyment, power and authority, pride, reverence or worship, revulsion, sexual attraction, and sympathy.[24]

One of the most elusive elements of southern oratory is the southern myth. Drawing upon the comments of Leo Marx, Henry Nash Smith, and R. W. B. Lewis, Waldo Braden formulates a definition:

> In summary these sources suggest that the myth draws upon memory and imagination, that it results from a collective effort over a considerable period of time, that it represents an over simplification of events, persons, and relationships, that its substance is more emotional than logical, that it combines both reality and fiction.[25]

He further explains that myths are accepted without questioning and that their strength and acceptance is gained through repetition, adding that,

> The ceremonial speech provides an excellent vehicle for utilizing the myth. Before he takes the platform the panagyrist knows that his listeners are in harmony with point of view, the occasion, and other audience members, that they are eager not to have their opinions and beliefs disturbed, and that they assemble for emotional excitement: to find solace, to be inspired, to gain sympathy from others,

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[24]Monroe and Ehninger, op. cit., pp. 249-250.

[25]Waldo W. Braden, "Myths in a Rhetorical Context," Southern Speech Journal, XL (Winter 1975), 115.

> to find companionship, and to strengthen a sense of belonging.[26]

Braden places the southern myth into four categories: the Old South myth, the Lost Cause myth, the Solid South myth, and the New South myth. He defines the Old South myth as being "about great plantations, the patriarchial master, the genteel lady, and, of course, the happy slaves."[27] In defining the Lost Cause myth, Braden explains: "The themes, interwoven into the Lost Cause myth, were complex and tangled. The speaker naturally praised the heroism of the ex-soldiers and the self-sacrifice of the homefolks." Braden adds that "In these oratorical flights, the participants--gentlemen and cavaliers--were credited with the qualities of knighthood and chivalry."[28] As an explanation of the New South myth, Braden notes that, "In contrast to the Old South myth which promoted regional solidity and pride, the New South myth stimulated hope and expectation, particularly among the have-nots."[29] Of the Solid South myth, Braden writes:

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[26] Ibid., pp. 121-123.

[27] Waldo W. Braden,"'Repining Over an Irrevocable Past': The Ceremonial Orator in a Defeated Society, 1865-1900," Rhetoric of the People, ed. Harold Barrett (Amsterdam: Radopi N V, 1974), p. 277.

[28] Ibid., p. 283.

[29] Ibid., p. 299.

> This myth advanced the concept that Anglo-Saxon southerners must stand united in order to meet threats from without and the uprising of Negroes from within. Another name for or perhaps a dimension of the myth is white supremacy.[30]

CHAPTER CONTENT

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter II provides a brief biographical sketch of Galloway, with a focus on those events and experiences that were connected with or that influenced his speaking. The topics discussed include background and early years, college years, ministry, editorship of the New Orleans Christian Advocate, activities as bishop, religious philosophy, work for education, role as spokesman for Mississippi and the New South, and oratory.

Chapter III analyzes his ceremonial speaking at special occasions. Because of their typicality, the following four ceremonial addresses are examined:

"Address at the Dedication of Millsaps College"
Jackson Mississippi, June 13, 1893

"Address at the Dedication of the New Capitol of Mississippi
Jackson, Mississippi, June 3, 1903

"The South and the Negro"
Birmingham, Alabama, April 26, 1904

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[30] Ibid., p. 287.

"The Life and Times of Jefferson Davis"
Oxford, Mississippi, June 3, 1908

Chapter IV offers an analysis of the first lecture from each of the Cole and Quillian series: "The Question Stated; or, The Answering Voice of History" (Cole lectures) and "Religion and Civil Government" (Quillian lectures).

Chapter V summarizes the findings of this study and seeks to provide additional insight and observations regarding Galloway's strategy, his similarities to other New South spokesmen of that era, and the impact of his speaking.

Chapter II

THE SPEAKER: CHARLES BETTS GALLOWAY

This chapter provides a brief biographical sketch of Charles Betts Galloway, with a focus on those events and experiences that were connected with or that influenced his speaking. The topics to be discussed include background and early years, college years, ministry, editorship of the New Orleans Christian Advocate, activities as bishop, religious philosophy, work for education, role as spokesman for Mississippi and the New South, and oratory.

BACKGROUND AND EARLY YEARS

Charles Betts Galloway (1849-1909) spent his entire life in Mississippi. His father was Dr. Charles B. Galloway, son of Alfred Galloway of North Carolina who in 1820 married Sophie Ann Betts, a sister of Reverend Charles Betts, an "eloquent Methodist minister of prominence in the Carolinas."[1] On September 18, 1826, in Smithville, North Carolina, Sophie bore a son who was later educated at Sharon College in Mississippi and then pursued medical studies at

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[1]Warren Akin Candler, Bishop Charles Betts Galloway (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1927), p. 5.

the medical department at the University of Louisville, graduating in 1851 with a specialty in surgery. Dr. Charles Galloway was a member of the American Medical Association and the Mississippi State Medical Association, of which he was president in 1872. In addition to contributing articles to the Southern Medical Record, he served as one of its editors.[2]

Dr. Galloway married Elizabeth Adelaide Dinkins, about whom little is known except that she was of Welsh, Scotch, and Irish background and a member of the Baptist church.[3] On September 1, 1849, Elizabeth gave birth to Charles Betts Galloway in Kosciusko, Mississippi, where his father was practicing medicine.[4] Out of Galloway's seven siblings, two sisters, Harriet and Elizabeth, died in childhood and one of his three brothers became a minister.[5]

Before the war, Galloway apparently experienced a normal childhood. He had ample opportunity to observe his father's work, and perhaps these activities of his father

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[2]William Larkin Duren, Charles Betts Galloway, Orator, Preacher, and "Prince of Christian Chivalry" (Atlanta: Banner Press, 1932), p. 40.

[3]Candler, op. cit., p. 6; Edward Mayes, "Charles Betts Galloway," Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, XI (1910), 21.

[4]Mayes, op. cit., p. 21.

[5]Candler, op. cit., p. 7.

later influenced the youth toward similar pursuits of writing and helping those in need. The onslaught of the Civil War was undoubtedly the most unsettling event in the boy's childhood. In adulthood, Galloway expressed his recollections of that conflict in a letter:

> 'How vividly I recall the stirring scenes of the outbreak of the war, and how, as a boy of eleven years, I sharpened a knife in length like a bayonet, and determined to carve in pieces any Yankee who dared to invade the soil of Mississippi. I witnessed the departure of the first company, the 'Attala Minute Men,' under command of Capt. Fletcher, and think yet that was as gallant a band as ever obeyed their country's call to arms. I remember how the preachers expounded old prophecies and proved to my perfect satisfaction that the South was bound to win.'[6]

When Federal forces invaded Mississippi in 1963, Dr. Galloway moved his family from Kosciusko to Canton where they still were surrounded by battle when Union troops took Jackson four times, and after several attempts, captured Vicksburg.[7] In addition, smaller nearby towns were invaded.[8] Young Galloway was probably in a position to hear and perhaps to see the realistic side of war, because many

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[6] Ibid., p. 10.

[7] Ibid., pp. 10-11; John K. Bettersworth, "The Home Front, 1861-1865," A History of Mississippi, I, ed. Richard Aubrey McLemore (Hattiesburg: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973), pp. 258-259.

[8] Bettersworth, "The Home Front, 1861-1865," op. cit., pp. 258-259.

prominent preachers and political leaders frequently visited his home and Dr. Galloway was a surgeon of a regiment of Mississippi troops.[9]

While living in Kosciusko, Galloway had attended a school kept by Reverend J. R. Farish, a Baptist minister; when his family moved to Canton in 1863, he entered a school for boys there.[10] No evidence indicates that the youth was anything but a normal and typical student in these schools where he was apparently liked by his teachers and classmates, was quick to learn, and full of fun.[11]

COLLEGE YEARS

The conclusion of the war, bringing the period of Reconstruction, exposed young Galloway to the transformation of the slaves to freedmen and the humiliations of conquest.[12] The end of slavery introduced economic and social problems for both the white and the Negro. Though he later became the spokesman for the New South, Galloway never

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[9]Candler, op. cit., pp. 4-5; Duren, op. cit., p. 40.

[10]Mayes, op. cit., p. 21; Nolen B. Harmon (ed.), The Encyclopedia of World Methodism, I (Nashville: The United Methodist Publishing House, 1974), p. 893.

[11]Candler, op. cit., pp. 8-10.

[12]Duren, op. cit., p. 259.

forgot that bleak period in Mississippi history and years later wrote of Reconstruction that, "No human pen, however gifted or graphic, can ever give adequate description of the agonies and horrors of Reconstruction in Mississippi and the entire South."[13]

The University of Mississippi reopened in October, 1865, with one-hundred and ninety-three students and five professors.[14] After completing in two years his preparations for college, Galloway was admitted to the sophomore class of the University of Mississippi on January 3, 1866, and at the age of sixteen was a member of the class of 1868. Here the student was constantly exposed to reminders of the war; of the twenty-four members of the class, sixteen had served in the armies of the Confederacy. Even some of the professors, including Brigadier General Sears, Dr. George Little, and General Shoup, had seen military duty. Also, during that period Galloway sat in the class of L. Q. C. Lamar, teacher

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[13]Charles B. Galloway, "Lucius Q. C. Lamar," Library of Southern Literature, VII, eds. Edwin Anderson and Joel Chandler Harris (New Orleans: Martin S. Hoyt, 1909), p. 2965.

[14]John K. Bettersworth, "The Reawakening of Society and Cultural Life, 1865-1890," A History of Mississippi, I, ed. Richard Aubrey McLemore (Hattiesburg: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973), p. 626.

of metaphysics and law and beloved southern statesman.[15]

While in college, Galloway took algebra, geometry, conic sections, chemistry, philosophy, and astronomy. In literature classes he studied Livy, Juvenal, Homer, and Aeschylus and was a member of the Phi Sigma Literary Society.[16] His letters from college indicate that he worked hard and achieved satisfaction when his marks were high.[17] While at the University of Mississippi, Galloway excelled in oratory, debate, and other literary exercises and in his junior year was selected orator of his class.[18] With an apparent desire to be an exceptional speaker, upon graduation from the University of Mississippi in the summer of 1868, the budding orator delivered the graduation address at the commencement exercises.[19]

While at a union protracted meeting at Oxford, Mississippi, Galloway united with the Methodist church at Canton. During his college years he taught in the Sunday schools and was a leader in students' prayer meetings on

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[15] Candler, op. cit., pp. 11-18.

[16] Ibid., p. 19.

[17] Duren, op. cit., p. 44.

[18] Mayes, op. cit., p. 22; Duren, op. cit., p. 44.

[19] Duren, op. cit., p. 44; Candler, op. cit., p. 22.

Sunday afternoons. By graduation in 1867 he had decided to enter the ministry.[20]

HIS MINISTRY

In 1868 Galloway was licensed to the ministry and delivered his first sermon in Sharon, Mississippi, where in that same year he accepted an offer from Sharon College to teach. During his first year in the ministry, he taught as well as served both white and Negro congregations. The following year, on September 1, 1869, his twentieth birthday, Galloway married Harriet E. Willis.[21]

In 1869 Galloway was appointed to serve the Black Hawk Circuit in the Yazoo District. When the president of a school in Black Hawk resigned, the young minister was asked to take charge for the remainder of the term.[22] As the minister-teacher preached to both whites and Negroes and gained more experience in education, his course was set, in that for the remainder of his life, Galloway worked with both races and played an active part in promoting education.

Apparently Galloway met early success, for in December,

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[20] Candler, op. cit., p. 20.

[21] Ibid., pp. 24-29.

[22] Ibid., pp. 30-32.

1870, he was appointed to Port Gibson Station, a distinct promotion. When Galloway was transferred to Yazoo City to replace Dr. Hunnicutt, a man quite popular with his congregation, the people of the church protested over the replacement and requested that Galloway seek permission from the bishop to let Hunnicutt remain. However, the new minister declined, remained the pastor of that church, and soon became one of the city's most popular pastors.[23]

During the Mississippi Conference in 1873, Galloway, at the age of twenty-four, was appointed to the church at the state capitol, Jackson, where he lived for four years. Then he was sent to Vicksburg.[24] When that community suffered a yellow fever epidemic in 1878, Galloway visited and ministered to the sick until he was finally stricken himself. At one point, when he was so ill that he was thought to be dying, an obituary was published in the city papers. But he recovered and often joked about seeing his own obituary.[25] In 1881, the minister was appointed for a second time to the church at Jackson, the most important and

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[23] Ibid., pp. 30-35.

[24] Ibid., pp. 35-36.

[25] Mayes, op. cit., p. 23.

influential Methodist church in Mississippi.[26]

EDITORSHIP OF THE NEW ORLEANS CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE

During the General Conference of 1882 there was a growing concern to find a replacement for Dr. Parker, the current editor of the New Orleans Christian Advocate, a prominent publication of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.[27] Not yet thirty-three, Galloway was elected to serve at this post. In 1882-83 Galloway continued both as pastor of the Jackson church and as editor of the Advocate, but in 1884 he was assigned to his last pastorate in Brookhaven which was closer to New Orleans.[28]

Apparently Galloway made significant contributions to the New Orleans Christian Advocate with editorials varying from topics dealing with the church to those concerning social questions. For example, one editorial was provoked by what he termed as "an unjustified disparagement of the faith and work of a group of Protestant churches, including his own."[29] Another editorial, "After Lent--What?" was written

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[26] Candler, op. cit., pp. 42-48.

[27] Duren, op. cit., p. 125.

[28] Candler, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

[29] Ibid., p. 136.

in opposition to the activities of some society women. This stinging attack concerned the amusements planned for religious periods:

> They are the patrons of the dance and chaperones of the young in all worldly vanity. Though painful, we do not hesitate to say it; that society women are the blight and mildew of the true piety in many communities.[30]

"Delays of Justice" protested the length of time required to bring an individual to trial.[31]

Through the distribution of the Advocate among Methodists in the southern states, he had an opportunity to reach many who would never hear him speak. The influence of the publication was great:

> Although it was only a Conference organ, its unique and distinguished editorial history gave the paper a prominence and its editor a degree of responsibility quite greater than was true of similar publications throughout the church. It had come to be an authoritative voice in the councils of Southern Methodism.[32]

ACTIVITIES AS BISHOP

In 1886 at the age of thirty-six, Galloway was elected

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[30] Charles Betts Galloway, "After Lent--What?" Christian Advocate [New Orleans], May 1, 1884, p. 4.

[31] Charles Betts Galloway, "Delays of Justice," Christian Advocate [New Orleans], August 2, 1883, p. 4.

[32] Duren, op. cit., p. 125.

bishop and turned over the Advocate to Reverend C. W. Carter.[33] He was the youngest man to be elected to that position by the southern church.[34] Though he had the respect of many officials in the church, some feared that Galloway "was more brilliant than practical."[35]

Through his extensive travels, Galloway became known as the "missionary bishop of Methodism."[36] In 1886, the same year he was elected bishop, Galloway was assigned the Episcopal district consisting of the Indian Mission, the North Texas, the Little Rock, the Arkansas, and the White River Annual Conferences. When in 1887 he began his first missionary work as bishop by inspecting the Indian Mission Conference, Galloway exhibited an intense interest in and compassion for the Indians, preaching to them on several occasions. To the Indians he pledged his efforts for their cause and to the whites he advocated renewed efforts on behalf of the Indians.[37]

Galloway's work in the Indian missions began years of

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[33]Mayes, op. cit., p. 24; Candler, op. cit., p. 74.

[34]Candler, op. cit., p. 68.

[35]Duren, op. cit., p. 170.

[36]Ibid., p. 198.

[37]Candler, op. cit., pp. 72-100.

travel; his next mission field was in Mexico and among the Mexicans on the Texas border, where he presided over the Annual Conference during 1888, 1889, and 1890. In 1894 while touring Japan and China to preside over the Annual Conferences to be held there, he wrote many letters to the Advocate relating his experiences.[38] These letters were published in a volume entitled A Circuit of the Globe.[39] The bishop made a second visit to the Orient in 1902 and a third visit in 1904 in order to hold the Annual Conference there. Upon his return, he campaigned to raise money for the Oriental missions and was able to secure "considerable funds."[40] Galloway's last assignment was to the Brazil Mission Conference which met in Rio de Janeiro in 1897.[41] Though Galloway's travels were largely concerned with mission work, he also served as liaison between the Methodist Episcopal Church, South and other Methodist bodies. For example, during the Third Ecumenical Methodist Conference which was held in City Road Chapel, London, on September 4-17, 1901, he preached the

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[38] Ibid., pp. 101-104.

[39] Charles Betts Galloway, A Circuit of the Globe (Nashville: Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1897).

[40] Candler, op. cit., p. 168.

[41] Ibid., p. 107.

opening sermon. Of all his ecumenical addresses, this discourse was perhaps the most profound and served to strengthen the ties between the British Wesleyan Conference and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.[42] In 1895 when Bishop Galloway returned from his trip to the Orient, he was the guest at a banquet given by the Methodist Social Union at the New York Savoy Hotel. The New York Times commented on the event as follows:

> The gathering, while not large in point of numbers, was thoroughly representative of the Methodist Church of the North, and as such extended a most cordial welcome to the distinguished clergyman from the South. It was regarded by prominent Methodists as having greater significance than any similar assemblage since the war. At that time the Methodist Church of the South and members of the same faith in the North became almost disrupted over the slavery question, and from that day to this the union of the Methodists of the South and the Methodists of the North has never been as close as before. The little dinner to Bishop Galloway, it is hoped, will be productive of closer fraternal relations between the two bodies.[43]

During Galloway's twenty-three years as bishop, in addition to his travels in the mission fields, he was appointed to chair over one-hundred and twelve sessions of annual conferences. Actually, he presided over more than that number, for he often took the place of colleagues when

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[42] Ibid., p. 185.

[43] New York Times, February 26, 1895, p. 2.

they were sick or disabled.[44] These extensive travels and events provided Galloway with many occasions to advocate continued support of missions.

WORK FOR EDUCATION

As previously mentioned in this chapter, Galloway's contact with institutions of learning began during the first years of his ministry and continued throughout his life as he worked to advance the cause of education:

> He gave aid in campaigns for increased endowments, preached on education, served on boards of Trustees of the State-supported institutions in Mississippi, on boards of various educational foundations in the North, and rendered every service within his power for the promotion of education and to make college opportunities possible to every aspiring youth in the land.[45]

In his fifth lecture of the Quillian series, Galloway stated, "I do not think it extravagant to insist that the right education of American childhood is to determine the destiny of this great republic."[46] Though he viewed education as a possible relief for some of the economic and social

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[44] Candler, op. cit., p. 83.

[45] Duren, op. cit., p. 286.

[46] Charles Betts Galloway, Christianity and the American Commonwealth; or, The Influence of Christianity in Making this Nation (Nashville: Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1898), p. 213.

problems of the times, he did not see education as a cure for crime or poverty.[47]

Regardless of whether the institution of learning was sponsored by the church or the state, Galloway believed that Christian teachings and Christian character were vital and that state education should be true to the religious foundations of the republic.[48] This idea was expressed in the lecture "Christian Education in the American Commonwealth" when he referred to the ministers who were graduates of Oxford and Cambridge and became leaders in all educational movements. He concluded that "The fathers were wise enough to discern the certain peril of divorcing learning from religion."[49]

The bishop believed in educational opportunities for women. In May, 1896, while delivering the Cole lectures at Vanderbilt University, Galloway described the women in India and other non-Christian nations as being degraded and enslaved, but he insisted that by educating women, the missionaries could assert influence. He noted that "In the

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[47]Duren, op. cit., p. 284.

[48]Ibid., p. 292.

[49]Galloway, Christianity and the American Commonwealth; or, The Influence of Christianity in Making this Nation, op. cit., p. 186.

province of Bengale alone a hundred thousand women and girls are under instruction, and all over the empire a change amounting to a social revolution has been wrought."[50] Not only did he see the education of non-Christian women as the key to social change in other countries, but he also saw the potential for such results in America. Realizing that the female had vast opportunities for influence because of her role in the home, he praised Mississippi for having the first chartered institution for higher education of young women in the South: "Some of the grandest women of the Southwest received their well-earned diplomas within those now charred walls, and went out to preside over their own model and magnificent homes."[51] This philosophy led him to support the building of a Methodist college in Arkansas for the education of women.[52] After concluding that such a school should be established in Searcy, Arkansas, he then set out to secure funds for the undertaking. On February 26, 1888, Galloway preached a sermon at Searcy and managed to

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[50]Charles Betts Galloway, Modern Missions: Their Evidential Value (Nashville: Publishing House Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1896), p. 126.

[51]Charles Betts Galloway, "Elizabeth Female Academy--The Mother of Female Colleges," Mississippi Historical Society Publications, II (1899), 169.

[52]Candler, op. cit., p. 258.

raise $25,000. The school, named Galloway College, was formally dedicated on April 18, 1889, with Bishop Galloway delivering the dedication address.[53]

Under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, plans were made for the establishment of a college for males at Jackson, Mississippi. Major R. W. Millsaps offered to give $50,000 toward the institution if the Methodists would also give the same amount. Asked to head the campaign to secure the money, Galloway traversed Mississippi to raise funds; and on September 7, 1889, he reported $30,000 in cash and subscriptions.[54] The school was named after Major Millsaps and began its first session in the fall of 1892. On June 13, 1893, Galloway delivered the dedicatory address, and in that same year he was made President of the Board of Trustees for life.[55]

Not only did the bishop play a vital role in the establishment of Galloway and Millsaps colleges, but he also contributed toward other schools. He served as President of

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[53]Duren, op. cit., p. 297; Candler, op. cit., p. 258.

[54]David M. Key, "Historical Sketch of Millsaps College," Millsaps College Bulletin, XXX (November 1946), 2-3; Duren, op. cit., p. 298.

[55]Duren, op. cit., p. 298.

the Board of Trustees of Vanderbilt University.[56] For many years he was the Chairman of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He was appointed by the governor of Mississippi to serve as a trustee of the University of Mississippi at Oxford and was the President of the Board of Trustees of Soochow University in China. For many years a member of the Board of Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund for the education of Negroes, his special concern for educating the blacks resulted in his being invited to speak on "The South and the Negro" at the Seventh Annual Conference for Education in the South at Birmingham, Alabama, on April 26, 1904. Though he frequently spoke on behalf of education for the Negro, the Birmingham address was perhaps his best known discourse on the subject. Galloway supported Hendrix College, the school of the Methodists of Arkansas for male students, and his private papers in the Department of History and Archives in Jackson, Mississippi, contain several letters which request his presence or his assistance at various functions on behalf of that college.[57] Even as early as 1886, when inspecting the mission work in

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[56] Candler, op. cit., p. 265.

[57] Ibid., pp. 256-271; Charles Betts Galloway Papers (Department of Mississippi History and Archives, Jackson, Mississippi, microfilm copy).

the Indian Territory and the state of Arkansas, he indicated interest in the schools and colleges of the church in these areas.[58] Also, he established Galloway College at Vineta, in the Indian Territory.[59] Of these efforts Candler comments:

> Unselfishly he endeavored to advance the welfare of the colleges and universities in his country, especially those located in his beloved Mississippi, and the authorities of educational institutions in both the North and South delighted to do him honor. In 1882 his Alma Mater conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, as did also Tulane University at New Orleans, Louisiana, in 1904.[60]

Galloway's work for the advancement of education provided him with many speaking occasions such as commencement exercises, academic award ceremonies, fund raising functions, and before academic organizations. He believed in the power of education to advance mankind, and he used his oratory to support that cause.

ROLE AS SPOKESMAN FOR MISSISSIPPI AND THE NEW SOUTH

Galloway's activities as a citizen indicate an intense

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[58] Candler, op. cit., p. 257.

[59] Mayes, op. cit., p. 25.

[60] Candler, op. cit., p. 255.

devotion to his home state Mississippi and to the South. As a result he was an active spokesman for that region. Speaking on such subjects as social injustice, race, crime, political corruption, prohibition, and the New South, Galloway exerted significant political influence.[61]

Being connected with the Methodist church as a minister and as a bishop, Galloway was forced to confront the problem of mixing religion and politics. The Quillian lecture series provided him with an opportunity to express his feelings regarding this question; he pointed out that in several of the colonies only members of the church were allowed to vote and that this was for the purpose of keeping political power in the hands of good men. Careful to add that this was not a wise move, he clearly intended that separation of the church from the state did not mean separation of the state from God.[62] Galloway believed that one's interest in public affairs should be deepened and intensified through faith and Christian experience; therefore, he felt that he had the same right to express himself upon public matters as anyone else, regardless of his office in

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[61] Mayes, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

[62] Galloway, Christianity and the American Commonwealth; or, The Influence of Christianity in Making this Nation, op. cit., p. 143.

the church.[63] In a Thanksgiving sermon delivered in Vicksburg in 1898, the southern spokesman warned against the tendency to separate God from national interests.[64] His personal scrapbook contains the article entitled "Politics and Religion," written to answer those who were opposed to mixing religion and politics. In essence, his philosophy was that "the true theory and highest wisdom is the most perfect mixing of religion and politics."[65] In Galloway's editorial "Preachers and Politics" in the New Orleans Christian Advocate, he rationalized speaking out on public issues by noting that "anything that affects the moral human soul is a legitimate theme of pulpit discourse."[66] Though he believed that individuals should take political stands, he was opposed to the church itself articulating a political creed.[67]

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[63] Duren, op. cit., p. 219; Candler, op. cit., p. 61.

[64] Charles Betts Galloway Papers, "Christian Citizenship" (Galloway's personal scrapbook at Millsaps College, Jackson, Mississippi).

[65] Galloway Papers, "Politics and Religion" (Galloway's personal scrapbook at Millsaps College).

[66] Charles B. Galloway, "Preachers and Politics," Christian Advocate [New Orleans], January 29, 1885, p. 4.

[67] Galloway, Great Men and Great Movements: A Volume of Addresses by Galloway (Nashville: Publishing House Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1914), p. 258.

One of Galloway's most intense campaigns was his opposition to liquor traffic, and Mississippi remained dry after the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment largely because of his leadership.[68] He preached temperance as early as 1874 when serving as pastor of the Jackson Methodist church.[69] One of his most popular discourses was his sermon entitled "The Individual Responsibility and Duty in the Present Temperance Reform."[70]

During 1877 Galloway became associated with Reverend Samuel A. Steel who was connected with the Southern Prohibitionist, published at Columbus, Missouri.[71] In the early spring of 1881 the first meeting on behalf of prohibition was held in Mississippi, and Galloway addressed that meeting in the City Hall of Jackson, resulting in a state convention in July with nearly two-hundred delegates.[72] Though Galloway took an active part in the movement, he refused to join the Prohibition Party because he felt that he should not be

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[68]Frances Allen Cabaniss and James Allen Cabaniss, "Religion in Mississippi Since 1860," The Journal of Mississippi History, IX, 4 (1947), 212.

[69]Candler, op. cit., p. 199.

[70]Duren, op. cit., p. 239.

[71]Candler, op. cit., p. 51.

[72]Ibid., p. 201.

committed to such a partisan step.[73]

When the prohibition movement became more intense in Mississippi and in other states, especially during the years of 1886 and 1887, Galloway published a Handbook of Prohibition.[74] During that period Galloway took part in several local campaigns in Lincoln county where he was living and he presided over the Seventh Annual Session of the Mississippi State Prohibition Convention on July 27, 1886.[75]

The minister was somewhat radical in his attitude toward liquor traffic.[76] For example, as dedicated as he was to the idea of a Methodist college being located in Mississippi, in 1891 he wrote Joseph Reid Bingham, "I would favor opposition to the location of a Methodist college in Mississippi if this had to be brought in with liquor traffic."[77] In addition, his personal scrapbook at Millsaps

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[73]Duren, op. cit., p. 251.

[74]Candler, op. cit., pp. 202-203; though listed in Candler's biography, The National Union Catalogue Pre-1956 Imprints carries no record of publication of Handbook of Prohibition.

[75]Candler, op. cit., pp. 202-203.

[76]Duren, op. cit., p. 250.

[77]Joseph Reid Bingham Papers (Department of Special Collections, Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, March 25, 1891, microfilm copy).

College contains his article condemning President Chester Arthur for serving wine at his first state dinner in the White House.[78]

Because not everyone shared Galloway's enthusiasm for prohibition, there were a few incidents of opposition to his stand in his church.[79] Also, Galloway suffered some criticism when he spoke at the Prohibition Convention in 1886.[80] Galloway's most famous opponent was Jefferson Davis with whom the bishop engaged in a heated controversy over the subject.[81] The Davis-Galloway controversy was a debate in 1887 in the form of letters later printed in pamphlet form.[82] Of that disagreement, Cabaniss and Cabaniss offer the following explanation:

> It arose from a carefully prepared discourse which Davis delivered against the adoption of a prohibition amendment to the constitution of Texas. Bishop Galloway deplored this letter in a speech made in Brookhaven, charging that Davis had allowed his words

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[78] Galloway Papers, "The White House and Whiskey," (Galloway's personal scrapbook at Millsaps College).

[79] Duren, op. cit., pp. 242-243.

[80] Candler, op. cit., p. 96.

[81] Bettersworth, "The Reawakening of Society and Cultural Life, 1865-1890," op. cit., p. 630.

[82] These letters are reprinted in Chapter XIV of Candler's biography of Galloway, pp. 211-253.

> to become 'the shibboleth of the saloons' and had become an opponent of 'the reform of the age.' To this Davis replied by challenging Galloway to mark passages in the Texas letter which led to such conclusions. Galloway failed to do this, although writing an answer to Davis.[83]

Though Galloway sympathized with Davis, he did not surrender his cause. At the time of the controversy, Galloway had been a bishop only one year while Davis was one of the most beloved individuals in the South.[84] In spite of their disagreement over the movement, twenty-one years later, on June 3, 1908, Bishop Galloway eulogized Davis in one of his most famous addresses, "The Life and Times of Jefferson Davis."[85]

As Galloway increased his activity on behalf of various causes, he became known throughout the South and eventually became a spokesman for that region. The images of Reconstruction created by Galloway in his address "A Message to the Mother Conference of Methodism," delivered in Bradford, England, in 1892, were straight from his own experiences as he contrasted the desolation of a fallen Confederacy with

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[83] Cabaniss and Cabaniss, op. cit., p. 212.

[84] Duren, op. cit., p. 247.

[85] Galloway, Great Men and Great Movements: A Volume of Addresses by Galloway, op. cit., pp. 148-193.

prosperity of the current New South.[86] Apparently admiring Lucius Q. C. Lamar for setting about to reconstruct and reconcile the nation after the war, the bishop made every attempt to do his part in working toward that same goal.[87] In presenting his message in Bradford in 1892, Galloway asserted that "there is a genuine loyalty to the Union in the South as in the North, thereby creating an image of a New South that had turned its back upon sectional hatred.[88] In his fifth lecture in the Quillian series, Galloway sought to remind his listeners that the South had always been highly supportive of education.[89] This address was not his only attempt to reveal the worthy side of the South, for in "A Message to the Mother Conference of Methodism," the bishop stated, "With an extensive acquaintance over the entire Southland, I do not know a single person, old or young who would consent to its [slavery's] restoration."[90] Galloway

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[86] Ibid., pp. 53-55.

[87] Ibid., p. 206.

[88] Ibid., p. 57.

[89] Galloway, Christianity and the American Commonwealth; or, The Influence of Christianity in Making this Nation, op. cit., pp. 194-196.

[90] Galloway, Great Men and Great Movements: A Volume of Addresses by Galloway, op. cit., p. 59.

sought to mend the gulf between the North and South. For example, on October 24, 1896, while delivering the "Jubilee Address" at the Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the American Missionary Association in Boston, the bishop played the role of a diplomat: "I bring you a message from the far South, from that section where so much of your sympathy and treasure has been invested."[91]

One of the most unusual aspects of Galloway's career was his work on behalf of the Negro. Because his father had been a slave holder, Galloway came into contact with black servants. Then too, he probably grew up accustomed to the presence of Negroes in the church since before the war, the Methodist church had been active in missionary work among the blacks, and later as the slaves became a part of the church, they sat in the galleries and received religious instruction with their masters. After the war, the church sought to maintain its Negro membership with the understanding that they would have an inferior relationship, but many of the former slaves deserted the southern church and formed their own institutions. Those Negroes who remained were

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[91] Ibid., p. 300.

segregated by seating.[92] Though Galloway did not formally join the Methodist church until college age, during his youth he probably attended some churches which were active in giving religious instruction to slaves, and later to the freedmen. During the final days of Reconstruction, the church experienced a growing sense of responsibility for the religious welfare of the Negroes and consequently promoted the philosophy that they should be educated in order to provide leaders for that race.[93] Nurtured in this kind of environment, in adulthood Galloway naturally assumed responsibility for the Negro.

Galloway often spoke about race problems. His speeches on this issue were frank and entirely free from the technical language of the sociologist.[94] Yet he was not an idealist who had no perception of the social and political implications of his stand.[95] In delivering "The South and the Negro," the orator clearly stated his separate-but-equal

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[92]Gene Ramsey Miller, A History of North Mississippi Methodism, 1820-1900 (Nashville: The Parthenon Press, 1966), pp. 69-87.

[93]Hunter Dickinson Farish, The Circuit Rider Dismounts, A Social History of Southern Methodism, 1865-1900 (New York: Dacapo Press, 1969), p. 176.

[94]Duren, op. cit., pp. 260-265.

[95]Ibid., p. 265.

philosophy which prevented him from being considered a fanatic who advocated a social mingling of the races.[96] Making his stand clear in the "Jubilee Address" he stated,

> But I insist that the Negro should have equal opportunity with every American citizen to fulfill in himself the highest purposes of an allwise and beneficient Providence. One thing is settled: the Negroes are here to stay. Their deportation would be a crime, and their colonization in their present condition would prove a disastrous failure.[97]

Galloway not only advocated that the South aid the Negro, but he also made suggestions as to how this good should be accomplished. On July 4, 1890, delivering an address to the recent settlers from the North and West who had settled in Jackson, he asserted that because Mississippi had such a large population of Negroes, the state had a special responsibility to solve the race problem, adding that the solution could be accomplished with the Bible, the spelling book in the school, and the church.[98] The speaker urged the people of the South to support mission work on behalf of blacks just as faithfully as the mission

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[96]Galloway, Great Men and Great Movements: A Volume of Addresses by Galloway, op. cit., pp. 316-317; Candler, op. cit., p. 274.

[97]Galloway, Great Men and Great Movements: A Volume by Galloway, op. cit., pp. 306-307.

[98]Ibid., p. 248.

work in Africa.[99] He also expressed a hope that the wealthy planters in the South would take a greater interest in the religious culture of those Negroes who lived and worked on their plantations.[100]

Galloway was challenged by the problems posed by the Negro in the South. Recognizing that the black was a distinct part of the southern population, the minister alternated between two attitudes. On the one hand, since the Negro was a part of the South, Galloway felt he could speak for both the Negro and the white South at the same time. The minister's other attitude was that the Negro was quite separate from the whites and that he must speak for both but separately.

From the early days of his ministry, Galloway analyzed those matters which concerned Mississippi and the South.[101] Though the prohibition movement and the race problem were major concerns, Galloway spoke out on other matters. He made strong appeals in favor of the Sunday laws, opposed mob rule, and attacked repudiation of the Planters' Bank bonds of

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[99]Duren, op. cit., p. 199.

[100]Candler, op. cit., p. 274.

[101]Candler, op. cit., p. 58.

1830-1853 and the Mississippi Union Bank bonds of 1838.[102] He also denounced the demagogue.[103] During his last pastorate, he attacked the administration of affairs at the Mississippi Penitentiary.[104] Often he spoke before the legislature, asserting the need for justice and honesty in legislation.[105] He even advocated that all citizens had the obligation to pay their taxes.[106]

Galloway's opinions were requested on various matters. President Theodore Roosevelt, having great regard for the bishop, often consulted him on political matters in Mississippi.[107] Galloway's private papers in the Department of History and Archives of Mississippi contain letters from individuals who sought his advice, such as Jason J. Billing who in requesting advice about a book he was writing concerning the Negro, commented "I wish I could interview you

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[102] Ibid., p. 207; Duren, op. cit., p. 229.

[103] Clayton Rand, Men of Spine in Mississippi (Gulfport, Mississippi: The Dixie Press, 1940), p. 248.

[104] Duren, op. cit., p. 114.

[105] Mayes, op. cit., p. 28.

[106] Galloway, Great Men and Great Movements: A Volume of Addresses by Galloway, op. cit., p. 263.

[107] Duren, op. cit., p. 16.

on the subject for I attach much importance to your counsels.[108] In another letter in the file, the City Editor of The Evening Democrat of Memphis explained that the paper was fighting gambling and requested the aid of Galloway.[109] On August 31, 1889, R. H. Thompson, an attorney in Hazelhurst, Mississippi, sought Galloway's influence with the governor concerning Thompson's application for appointment to the Supreme Court.[110]

Galloway enjoyed friendships in high places. On February 9, 1907, he wrote Joseph Bingham, "I had a delightful letter from Vice President [Charles Warren] Fairbanks yesterday, stating that he had heard of my [illegible] health, and inviting me to Washington, D.C., to be his guest."[111] Undoubtedly, those who held political positions knew of Galloway's influence with the people and perhaps this was why he was often urged to become a candidate for the United

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[108] Galloway Papers (Department of Mississippi History and Archives, December 6, 1889, microfilm copy).

[109] Galloway Papers (Department of Mississippi History and Archives, March, 1890, microfilm copy).

[110] Galloway Papers (Department of Mississippi History and Archives, August 31, 1889, microfilm copy).

[111] Bingham Papers (February 9, 1907, microfilm copy).

States Senate.[112] Though Bishop Galloway declined because of his position in the church, his papers in the Mississippi Department of History and Archives contain notes regarding the eligibility of a minister to public office.[113]

In spite of the fact that Galloway never sought public office, his political influence was perhaps as great as that of any other man in Mississippi, for his high office in the church enabled him to reach others outside his home state.[114] In the pulpit and in public places Galloway spoke for Mississippi and the South as well as to the residents of that region. He was not regarded as simply a minister, but was seen as a public figure as well, as evidenced by the official reaction to his death:

> Orders have been issued for all departments of the Federal, State, County, and Municipal Governments to remain closed to-morrow, and Mayor Crowder has issued a proclamation urging all of the business houses to close for the day.[115]

On May 12, 1909, the Negroes of Jackson, Mississippi, issued a proclamation: "'The Negro race has sustained in his death,

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[112] Candler, op. cit., p. 61.

[113] Galloway Papers (Mississippi Department of History and Archives, microfilm copy).

[114] Duren, op. cit., p. 227.

[115] New York Times, May 13, 1909, p. 7.

the loss of one of its greatest friends and strongest advocates this country has ever produced, North or South.'"[116]

ORATORY

During Galloway's career of forty years, his speeches including sermons numbered into the thousands.[117] According to the notice of his death in the New York Times, the bishop "held high rang [sic] among the pulpit orators of America."[118]

Though he seemed to have a talent for oratory, the task required effort on his part and from his college days he worked to cultivate this ability.[119] According to Duren, Galloway prepared his speeches with great care:

> His method of sermon preparation was rather unusual. To begin with, his introduction, which was worked out with great care, contained the larger part of his exegesis; and he brought into it the background of history and every circumstance that might lend color to the theme which he had in mind. He would then choose two or three of his propositions and work them out fully and carefully; but all the others were indicated in a bare outline, and his illustrations were merely suggested. With each sermon manuscript, he included two or three pages of quotations from history, literature, science, and philosophy, all of which bore upon his theme.

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[116] Duren, op. cit., p. 275.

[117] Mayes, op. cit., p. 27.

[118] New York Times, May 13, 1909, p. 7.

[119] Duren, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

> He wrote no conclusion, but left his periods and his peroration wholly to the inspiration of the hour. These facts indicate that he maintained a measure of independence concerning his manuscript and that a large part of every sermon was extempore.[120]

One source regarded Galloway as an example of a classic orator. Perhaps this conclusion grew out of his heavy use of quotations from literature and history. He studied the techniques of orators such as Calhoun, Webster, Clay, Davis, and Lamar.[121] His scrapbook at Millsaps College contains numerous clippings of articles and poems, causing one to speculate that he made use of this file when preparing speeches. Though this writer never found such articles in his papers, Mayes reports that Galloway had in his possession such documents as diaries and papers of individuals of historical and religious interest. As a student of Mississippi history, he contributed articles which were published by that state's Historical Society, and he was a member of the Trustees of the State Department of Archives and History. Likewise interested in Methodist history, whereever he traveled, he visited places connected with Methodism's past.[122]

Though Galloway's manuscripts indicate that he had a

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[120] Ibid., p. 81.

[121] Christian Advocate [New Orleans], January 28, 1937, p. 5.

[122] Mayes, op. cit., p. 26; Duren, op. cit., pp. 176-177.

flair for effective language, he had the ability to make use of the phrases of the commonpeople. When he heard something he felt was striking, he would write the phrase in his notebook.[123] Realizing the value of a speaker's ability to use the language of his listeners, Galloway stressed that every missionary should master the language of the people within his charge as soon as possible and wrote that "preaching through an interpreter is very unsatisfactory." "To speak the vernacular of the people gives one immense advantage."[124]

With an ability to appeal to the people, Galloway achieved probably his greatest success in establishing common ground with his audience. Duren reports that,

> Bishop Galloway was a master, also, in the understanding and interpretation of the mind of his audience. No man ever understood a crowd better than he did. To begin with, he knew the value of placing an audience in rapport with himself. His approach, therefore, was never haphazard or accidental, but it was a definitely wrought out part of his oratorical design. He made himself familiar with every local idol, and the reasons for its being enthroned in the affections of the people to whom he spoke. He knew the national heroes of every land where he went, and through these he made almost irresistable appeal to every patriotic heart.[125]

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[123] Duren, op. cit., p. 27.

[124] Galloway, A Circuit of the Globe, op. cit., p. 115.

[125] Duren, op. cit., p. 63.

Perhaps part of his appeal was due to his physical appearance, described as being "a little above medium height, well proportioned, erect, graceful and handsome, with a high forehead, raven black hair, and flashing eyes," and having a "full and resonant voice."[126] Mrs. C. L. Nelll of Jackson, Mississippi, who heard Galloway, today describes his voice as "clear, vibrant, and decisive."[127]

Many of Galloway's writings and speeches, which mention individuals who were acclaimed for their oratorical powers, provide some insight regarding his own philosophy of public speaking. Apparently attracted to speakers who are able to dramatically move their listeners, Galloway described Charles Wesley as "magnetic" and a "master of assemblies," and regarded Thomas Griffin, a pioneer Methodist minister, as "a genuine master of assemblies."[128] Galloway admired John C. Calhoun for his "remorseless logic" and Henry Clay's

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[126] Ibid., p. 25.

[127] Based on personal correspondence between Mrs. C. L. Nelll of Jackson, Mississippi, and the writer.

[128] Galloway, Great Men and Great Movements: A Volume of Addresses by Galloway, op. cit., p. 97; Charles Betts Galloway, "Thomas Griffin: A Boanerges of the Early Southwest," Mississippi Historical Society Publications, VII (1903), 157.

ability of "mighty argument."[129] Those qualities which Galloway attributed to great oratory were, in his view, exemplified by Lucius Q. C. Lamar:

> He was a great orator, in many respects by far the greatest I ever heard. His name was the synonym for pure and lofty eloquence. Not since the golden days of Sargent [sic] S. Prentiss has there been a man among us who could, like him, sway and compose vast audiences at will, and, by that authority of his imperial eloquence, compel the people to adopt his principles and enthusiastically follow his policies. At times he had the classic diction of Edward Everett, and again he could rival the marvelous periods of Edmond Burke. He could on occasions pursue an argument with the analytical precision and remorseless logic of John C. Calhoun and then, if need be, kindle enthusiasm as with the magic wand of Henry Clay. With equal skill he could wield the light sword of Aladdin and the ponderous battle-ax of Richard. For majestic utterances and eloquence he has had no peer in all our borders.[130]

SUMMARY

Galloway spent his early childhood in an environment fertile for the development of an orator. Born of parents who were descendents of cultured and religious individuals, he likely began his childhood in a normal way only to have his formative years disrupted by the Civil War. What he experienced during and after the war was probably largely responsible for his role as spokesman for Mississippi and the New South. Like

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[129] Duren, op. cit., pp. 57-58.

[130] Galloway, Great Men and Great Movements: A Volume of Addresses by Galloway, op. cit., p. 219.

many of his time, he must have been anxious for better days.

Galloway's college years were a sober period in his life as he pursued higher learning among veterans of the war. While at the University of Mississippi, he developed an interest in oratory and determined to enter the ministry.

During his years as a minister, Galloway lived in various sections of Mississippi, finding many opportunities to gain insight into the people of that state. In the early days of his ministry, Galloway acquired valuable experience in preaching to the people of that region, both white and Negro.

His tenure as editor of the New Orleans Christian Advocate enabled him to reach people all over Mississippi as well as those who lived outside the state. Possibly the discipline of writing for the printed page provided Galloway with a means for polishing his literary style.

As bishop, Galloway's travels greatly expanded, and consequently he established rich contacts with those outside his own culture. These experiences provided him opportunities to view other philosophies and ways of life, expanding his insights into human nature. Since these travels usually centered around conferences where he spoke before listeners who were markedly different from those of his own region,

Galloway learned to cope with a variety of audience attitudes.

His work for the advancement of education involved him as a leader of fund-raising campaigns and required Galloway to exercise his ability to inspire. He was also sought after as a speaker for such formal educational occasions as commencement exercises and award-giving ceremonies.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of Galloway's career was his role as spokesman for Mississippi and the South, which resulted in his taking up many varied causes such as opposition to liquor traffic and favoring equal opportunities for the Negro. His advice was sought by local and national figures.

Galloway promoted numerous causes by means of the public platform. Not limiting himself to the pulpit, his speaking career was highly diverse. Considered an eloquent and moving speaker who managed to secure success for many of the causes he advocated, Galloway seemed to understand well the power of the public platform and made every effort to use that medium to achieve his goals.

Chapter III

GALLOWAY'S SPEECHES AT CEREMONIAL OCCASIONS

Because Charles Betts Galloway was noted for his power in the pulpit and on the public platform, he was frequently sought as a speaker for various occasions. Some of his most noted speeches were those which were delivered for special ceremonial events. The purpose of this chapter is to analyze his ceremonial speaking. Because they are typical, the following four of Galloway's ceremonial addresses will be analyzed:

"Address at the Dedication of Millsaps College"
Jackson, Mississippi, June 13, 1893

"Address at the Dedication of the New Capitol of Mississippi"
Jackson, Mississippi, June 3, 1903

"The South and the Negro"
Birmingham, Alabama, April 26, 1904

"The Life and Times of Jefferson Davis"
Oxford, Mississippi, June 3, 1908

GALLOWAY'S SPEECH AT THE DEDICATION OF MILLSAPS COLLEGE

After Galloway had spent many months in raising funds for the establishment of a Methodist college in Mississippi, he was the keynote speaker when Millsaps College was formally dedicated on June 13, 1893, in Jackson, Mississippi.

Utilizing the event as a means to suggest the role and scope of the institution, this discourse exemplifies Galloway's ideas concerning the functions of a Christian college.

General Background

Reasoning that education would enable whites to remain superior to blacks and that schools could be supported by industry, southerners during the period between 1880 and 1900 began to see education and the factory as ways out of economic blight.[1] Southern Methodists possessed a special interest in educating their youth in church schools and consequently became active in establishing such institutions. Seeing church schools as an opportunity to influence the mind of the public, the southern church emphasized Christian education.[2] The Methodists had long conflicted with public institutions especially during the nineteenth century when the church had opposed the concept of state colleges offering advanced education to the masses.[3] Farish offers two reasons for that attitude:

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[1]W. F. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941), p. 176.

[2]Hunter Dickinson Farish, The Circuit Rider Dismounts, A Social History of Southern Methodism, 1865-1900 (New York: Dacapo Press, 1969), p. 87.

[3]Ibid., p. 285.

> In the first place many persons felt that secular learning should be accompanied at all stages by positive moral religious instruction; that it was the function of the college to conserve and strengthen the religious elements in man's character at the same time that it imparted world-wisdom.[4]

Continuing, Farish offers a second reason:

> The second reason for the opposition to the promotion of higher education by the State was the fact that, during the eighties, a number of State institutions had undertaken to provide free tuition. It was feared that the denominational colleges could no longer meet their competition and would be forced out of existence.[5]

However, by 1889 southern Methodists began to exhibit a friendlier attitude toward state colleges, due in part to the realization that the solution of the denominational school problem lay in acquiring adequate endowments rather than eliminating the offerings of state schools.[6] As the people of Mississippi became interested in the promotion of college education, Methodists and other churches in that region founded several colleges such as Millsaps College, established in the late 1880s.[7]

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[4] Ibid., pp. 285-286.

[5] Ibid., p. 291.

[6] Ibid.

[7] David M. Key, "Historical Sketch of Millsaps College," Millsaps College Bulletin, XXX (November 1946), 1-3.

The first planning meeting for the establishment of Millsaps took place in Jackson, Mississippi, in January or February of 1889, at which time Major R. W. Millsaps offered to give $50,000 to the institution provided the Methodists would also donate a like amount. Along with Major Millsaps and a financial agent, Galloway assumed the task of raising money, and by June 11, 1894, the funds had been secured. Two years earlier, in the fall of 1892, the college opened in Jackson.[8]

The first president of Millsaps was William Belton Murrah, who chose the first faculty. Of the first nine teachers employed, four had the Ph.D. or were later to receive it; all did graduate work at such institutions as Johns Hopkins and Vanderbilt University. As one of their first tasks, the faculty formulated a somewhat rigid curriculum in which every course was prescribed, with the B.A. or B.S. degrees the only option.[9]

Specific Occasion

When the college was formally dedicated, Galloway presented his "Address at the Dedication of Millsaps College."

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[8] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[9] Ibid., p. 5.

Two different dates have been suggested as the time of the event. In Great Men and Great Movements, A Volume of Addresses by Galloway, Candler placed the speech on June 13, 1903.[10] However in Charles Betts Galloway, Orator, Preacher, and "Prince of Christian Chivalry" Duren gave the date of the speech as June 13, 1893.[11] Because McCain his The Story of Jackson cites the same year as indicated by Duren, June 13, 1893, appears to be the more likely.[12]

Although there were no graduates (there were no seniors), the first commencement sermon was preached by Dr. Steele on Monday, June 12, 1893, the day before the dedication of Millsaps. The day's ceremonies also included speeches by male students, the presentation of medals to debators and to students exhibiting high scholarship, and public reading of the hymnbook and the Bible.[13]

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[10]Charles Betts Galloway, Great Men and Great Movements: A Volume of Addresses by Galloway (Nashville: Publishing House Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1914), p. 227.

[11]William Larkin Duren, Charles Betts Galloway, Orator, Preacher, and "Prince of Christian Chivalry" (Atlanta: Banner Press, 1932), p. 298.

[12]William D. McCain, The Story of Jackson, A History of the Capitol of Mississippi, 1821-1951, I (Jackson, Mississippi: J. F. Hyer Publishing Co., 1953), p. 254.

[13]Christian Advocate [New Orleans], June 22, 1893, p. 4.

On the next day, Tuesday, the dedication held in the college chapel was described as follows:

> This room on the northern side of the building, and to the left of the principal entrance was free from sunshine and delightfully cool, though packed in every part.[14]

The dedication services were opened with a prayer by D. T. J. Newell of Canada, who was followed by Galloway. Then the Reverend E. E. Hoss, editor of the Christian Advocate of Nashville read a speech, after which Reverend W. R. Sims, D. D., of the University of Mississippi, read a dedication ode.[15]

Audience

Though little was reported about the event, the New Orleans Christian Advocate described the audience of the dedication ceremonies as follows:

> In spite of the hot weather, general poverty and many protracted meetings, there was a large attendance of preachers from both Conferences--just how many I was not able to ascertain but more than could well be accommodated from the spacious platform of the college chapel.[16]

In all likelihood, the audience also consisted of students,

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

parents, faculty, and Methodists of Jackson, as well as some of the local residents who were interested in or supported the college.

Purpose

Perhaps Galloway's role in the establishment of Millsaps triggered an almost paternal attitude on his part, for in the speech he demonstrated a strong feeling of responsibility for the school, the product of his labors. In stressing the importance of Christian education and in offering specific suggestions as to how Millsaps could promote the endeavor, the bishop attempted to set the future course of the college. Then too, the nature of some of his remarks suggests that Galloway addressed specific criticisms to certain individuals. Clearly, the bishop sought to extend his guardian role over the newly-founded institution.

Theme

Though implied rather than stated, Galloway developed the theme that a Christian college has the potential for offering many benefits to the students and to that region. Repeatedly he suggested the central idea in such sentences as "I claim for the work of Christian education a foremost place," and in his suggestions for the management of the school in a manner which would aid Millsaps in creating a

Christian environment for its students.

Basic Premises

When Galloway contended that a Christian education was important for college youth, he also expressed his belief that the teacher could play a vital role in educating the students. In offering suggestions regarding Millsaps' future and function, the bishop asserted six other major premises. (1) While advocating that Millsaps should always remain a college rather than a university, (2) Galloway also encouraged the school to demonstrate a friendly attitude toward state education and cooperate in every possible way. (3) He expressed his desire for Millsaps to become a training school for teachers and (4) projected the hope that the college would enable Mississippi's youth to remain in that state, as he felt they should. Speaking to the administrators and others who would guide Millsaps, (5) Galloway advocated a uniform educational policy and candidly noted that (6) more followers, rather than more leaders were needed among those who were connected with managing the college.

Lines of Argument

Linking the influence of Christian education on the character of students, Galloway reasoned that the church school was vital since "works measure rewards and determine

destiny." In developing this idea, he warned of the dangers from failure to support Christian educational efforts, the most serious of which was his reminder that a youth away at college could succumb to moral temptations if not under the watchful influence of a church school. He also noted the significant contributions of instructors in guiding and teaching students. Listing more specific suggestions for Millsaps, Galloway advocated that the school become a college rather than attempt to compete with state schools, mentioning that those who wanted professional training should enter a university. He also cited the effort to fight ignorance as a reason for cooperating with other colleges, especially those connected with the state. In advocating that Millsaps become a training ground for primary school teachers, Galloway acknowledged the need to educate all children since they would someday be voters and decide on major issues. The bishop also expressed the hope that Millsaps would encourage students to remain in Mississippi and thereby serve their home state. Expressing a desire for a uniform educational policy for the various colleges supported by the church, including Millsaps, he contended that most of their schools had been ruled by the wants of a few, not the people as a whole. Continuing, he stated that to correlate the schools was to "remove rivalries, conserve the connectional spirit,

secure better literary results, and turn thousands of dollars into endowment funds" which would be wisely spent. Finally, in requesting more followers "of a fixed, well-understood united purpose and policy," Galloway explained that too many leaders had resulted in disorganization and therefore failure of several projects.

Organization

For the most part, Galloway's speech at Millsaps was arranged in distributive order. After emphasizing the importance of the occasion during his introductory remarks, the bishop developed the major ideas in the body of his address which included his comments concerning the results of supporting the college, the value of Christian education, the impact of Christian teachers, the influence of a Christian college upon its students, and specific suggestions for the future of that school. Several of his subpoints included suggestions and benefits; however, in some instances, Galloway offered suggestions without mentioning advantages. Drawing his speech to a close, the orator reemphasized Millsaps' potential for greatness and urged continued support.

Forms of Support

As Galloway directed specific comments to a diverse audience made up of parents, students, teachers, and supporters

of the college, he employed analogies, quotations, illustration, and specific examples.

Analogy. Throughout his address, Galloway frequently utilized analogies, generally selecting comparisons which were familiar to the listeners. For example, to magnify his claim that education improves character, he compared a human with a machine:

> It is said that 'any work done by a machine must first be done on it.' In an important sense that principle applies to human character. Work done on the human heart by the processes of education and Providence determine the character, if not the measure, of the work that will be done by it.

Linking this concept with Millsaps, the bishop added that the same principle applied to an institution of learning.

As the speaker offered specific suggestions regarding the goals and function of Millsaps, he made further use of analogy. In developing his third suggestion, that the college should become a training school for teachers, the bishop expressed concern for the education of poor children whom he compared with the Biblical character of Lazarus. Utilizing a Bible story familiar to his audience, the speaker apparently sought sympathy for the children of the poor:

> The sons and daughters of the wealthier classes enjoy them, while the great masses of poor children have no such opportunity or desire. They

> are a sort of Lazarus at the gate and must be content with the crumbs that fall from the educational table.

In his sixth suggestion the bishop demonstrated that the school was in need of more followers and fewer leaders by comparing church members to soldiers, developing the following analogy:

> Too many field officers have disorganized armies and turned easy victories into sad defeats. The heroism following a sublime idea is more honorable than the aspirations of local leadership.

During his concluding remarks, the orator stressed the need for continued support of the newly-founded college by comparing Millsaps with a growing oak. Carefully choosing his words, Galloway noted that nature's care [the church] would produce "the grand monarch of the forest" [Millsaps]:

> Like greatness of character, a college is a thing of slow growth. It takes years of warm sunshine and falling rains and sweeping winds and morning dews for the tender shrub to develop into the oak, the grand monarch of the forest.

Illustration. When suggesting that Millsaps could nurture Christian patriotism by encouraging its youth to remain in the state, he offered a detailed narrative which demonstrated his knowledge of mythology as well as his skills at story-telling:

> When Ulyses, the hero of the Trojan War and king of Ithaca, was returning home after that heroic struggle, he was shipwrecked upon the shore of the

> little isle of Ogygia. Calypso, the nymph of the isle, detained him there for eight years, desiring and designing to make him immortal and to keep him with her forever. But, though the sylvan beauty of the isle charmed even the eye of Mercury, and the fair goddess offered him immortality, the great warrior preferred age and death and a grave among the friends and scenes of his beloved Ithaca. I would that such devotion to country fired the hearts of Mississippians today; that no fickle goddess, however fair, could ensnare our affections and win our hearts from a State of such glorious memories and such affluent and infinite possibilities.

Specific Examples. Galloway believed that Millsaps should be required to prove its right to exist through "the work it shall do," for in his view one had to do something great in order to be great. In illustrating this idea, he cited two examples drawn from history. First, he reminded his listeners that, "It was not his dukedom that made Wellington historic, but the golden glory of the evening sun that encircled his brow after the splendid day at Waterloo." Second, Galloway stated that Germany's Grand Marshall Von Moltke was remembered for "his triumphant entry into Paris after a brilliant campaign of only six weeks."

Quotations. Galloway used quotations primarily to emphasize the value of Christian education. By their use he praised Christian teachers and schools. Observing the great value of a teacher, he quoted "an English writer:"

> 'Next to creating a soul, the molding of it was the divinist thing.' They could not say to the soul, 'Thou shalt be,' but they could say to it, 'Thou shall be instructed.' And nothing we can do will more surely command the favor of our Father in heaven.

Inferring that the instructor was like a great warrior, Galloway continued his lavish praise for the dedicated teacher through the words of Melanchthon, a scholar and philosopher of the Reformation: "'Rightly to train a single youth is a greater exploit than the taking of Troy.'" Quoting Sir Humphrey Davy, Galloway stressed instruction of the soul as well as that of the mind: "When Sir Humphrey was asked what was the greatest discovery he had ever made in chemistry, he promptly replied: 'It was when I discovered Michael Faraday.'" Continuing, he explained that Millsaps needed "teachers who have eyes to 'discover the nature and value of a child,' and the discovery cannot be made until teachers are able to see in the child what the Lord Christ sees in it."

During his concluding remarks, Galloway made use of a series of quotations to link the concept of a Christian college with worthy endeavors. First he quoted the epitaph of Sir Robert Peel: "'He gave the poor cheap bread.'" Galloway added that one who makes life better for others deserves to be remembered. Noting that a school which provides Christian education will also be held in high esteem,

he quoted the motto of a Christian college as written by the poet John Greenleaf Whittier and suggested that this should also be the slogan of Millsaps:

> 'Light, freedom, truth, be ever these our own;
> Light to see truth, freedom to make it known;
> Our work God's work, our wills his will alone.'

Finally, he commented that if the college were true to its high calling, someone will sing of Millsaps as did Lord Byron of Corinth before the seige:

> 'Many a vanished year and age
> And tempest's breath and battle's rage
> Have swept over Corinth:
> Yet, she stands
> A fortress formed to freedom's hands.
> The Tempest's breath, the whirlwind's shock
> Have left untouched her hoary rock.'

Ethical Appeals

Galloway made few attempts to build his ethos in his "Address at the Dedication of Millsaps." Possibly this was because much of his ethos rested upon prior reputation, achieved because he played a prominent role in the founding of the school. Not only was Galloway well known throughout the church, but he was also a resident of Jackson, the locale of his speech, which provided many members of the audience an opportunity to know him well. His only efforts to heighten his ethos were minor attempts to enhance his character and good will.

Character. In urging the students to remain in Mississippi, he reminded his audience that he was a well-traveled individual, thus enhancing his "authority derived from his personal experience."[17] Possibly his purpose here was to imply that after having the opportunity to observe many regions of the nation, he had concluded that Mississippi could offer more.

Good Will. Expressing pleasure at being present, Galloway's first statement was designed primarily to heighten his image as a man of good will: "It gives us joy to meet and greet you on the occasion of this our first intellectual Olympia." Likely inspired by the spirit of the event, another attempt in this direction was possibly more practical in intent. Prior to the bishop's sixth suggestion for the goals and future of Millsaps--that the church in Mississippi needed followers and not leaders, Galloway proceeded "with candor and straightforwardness" and offered "necessary rebukes with tact and consideration," apparently not wanting to irritate his audience by overing overly-frank remarks.[18] With an

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[17]Lester Thonssen, A. Craig Baird, Waldo W. Braden, Speech Criticism (2d ed.; New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1970), p. 459.

[18]Ibid., pp. 459-460.

explanation that was designed to override any possible offense, Galloway prefaced his suggestions with "You will pardon the suggestion (my profound interest in the success of this great enterprise being my own apology)."

Emotional Appeals

Galloway employed a variety of emotional appeals which included fear, sympathy, reverence of a deity, reputation, pride, patriotism, loyalty to an institution, and building.

Fear. Though the dedication of a new college was appropriately considered a happy event, the speaker utilized several appeals to fear as he noted potential dangers amid the celebration of a great achievement. Speaking to the church members present, the speaker emphasized the repercussions which could result from failure to support Christian education, making clear the prospect of losing all that had been gained if neglect was continued:

> We have not had the time and freedom from other imperious cares and claims; but the day has come when further neglect means the loss of all we have achieved, when postponement will first order a retreat which will end in defeat.

Possibly intending to arouse fear at the idea of discontinued support of Christian education, the bishop warned parents about the consequences if college students were not educated

under the watch of a church environment:

> The Christian character of a young man or woman needs special care during college days. Away from home, away from the family altar, and the parental eye, away from the home Sunday school and the family pew at church service, and, exposed to manifold temptations, there is demand for every possible safeguard and Christian help.

Offering criteria for the function of Millsaps, the speaker used an appeal to fear by citing the analogy of Lazarus to emphasize the need for Millsaps to train teachers. Reminding his listeners that today's children would be tomorrow's voters, he suggested the danger of uneducated adults making poor decisions on public matters. Also, in citing a need or an educational policy among the church-supported schools, Galloway indicated that any such college should be endorsed by the Conference, which was not being done at that time. If his words were not heeded, the bishop warned of "folly even to calamity," as the impending result.

Continuing to appeal to the emotion of fear as he urged continued support of Millsaps, in his concluding remarks the speaker did not specifically request a continuation of contributions, but he did strongly indicate the need by mentioning that the endowment was inadequate and that the equipment and facilities were insufficient, adding, "For these we must continue to toil." While he did not link this appeal with disastrous results if contributions

did not continue, the audience could have easily visualized such a danger.

Sympathy. By arousing the emotion of pity in regard to the children who were not being educated, Galloway skillfully included a contrast between the needs of the rich and poor as he urged Millsaps to become a training school for teachers:

> Our urgent and imminent want to-day is elementary education. These higher advantages belong only to a few. The sons and daughters of the wealthy classes enjoy them, while the great masses of poor children have no such opportunity or desire. They are sort of Lazarus at the gate and must be content with the crumbs that fall from the educational table.

Reverence of a Deity. Extolling the worthiness of Christian teachers and education, Galloway played upon the listeners' reverence for God. Perhaps hoping to inspire the faculty toward a sense of heightened dedication, the bishop elevated the profession by suggesting that teachers could be spiritual leaders, noting that "the true teacher must have the clear spiritual discernment which comes only from the enduement of the Holy Spirit and pupilage at the feet of the world's greatest Teacher." In his view, a teacher must "walk with God" for his mission is not merely to teach "but to develop character." Also, in using Biblical

terminology such as "creation" and "eternity," Galloway suggested a reward for teachers who offered spiritual guidance to students, for he commented that "nothing we can do will more surely command the favor of our father in heaven."

In like manner, the bishop referred to Millsaps as a school directed by God for the purpose of Christian work. This trend was established in his introductory remarks when he declared that the college was "guided as I verily believe, thus far by the gracious eye of a favoring Providence." To further emphasize the role of God in the founding of Millsaps, the speaker reminded his audience that they were not to accept the glory:

> 'Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us
> but unto thy name give glory.'

As far as Galloway was concerned, the establishment of Millsaps was according to God's will in that the bishop saw "the work of Christian education" as in "a foremost place" with a "mission divine." Galloway's major reason for linking Millsaps with the will of God became apparent as he pleaded for Millsaps to become a place of "piety and Christian activity, endowed with money and endued with the Holy Ghost." While "piety," "Christian activity," and the "Holy Ghost," were appeals to the listeners' reverence of God, money was asserted to be the only means for fulfilling those spiritual

efforts.

Pride. During his concluding remarks Galloway played upon his listeners' desire to be connected with an institution that was praise-worthy. While he had previously lauded the present value of Millsaps, his final comments dwelt upon the response of future generations, thereby arousing the listeners' sense of pride.

> But more enduring will be the fame and name and more far-reaching the beneficient influence of the patriot, prophet, or school that gives to the country's poor the benefits of a Christian education.

Continuing, Galloway promised that support of that institution would result in future generations rising "up to do honor to this institution of Christian learning." While the bishop did not suggest that individuals would be recognized in the future, the most meager contributor could easily envision himself as being a part of a great effort which would someday reap the benefits and establish a good reputation for itself and its "silent" benefactors.

Seeking to inspire the faculty and the church to support Millsaps, Galloway appealed to their sense of pride. In speaking to the teachers, he reminded them of their worth:

> No feeble expression of human praise can pay fitting tribute to a faithful teacher's exalted worth. It is

> written with eternity's pen of diamond point on the triumphs of genius, the dissemination of thought, and emblazoned on the records of all the civilizations of all the ages.

As the bishop suggested that those who contributed ideas or work were the benevolent, he must have aroused a sense of pride in those present who had contributed. In offering praise, he commented:

> Upon few institutions ever established in any land or time have there been expended more careful thought, more spiritual solicitude, more self-denying toil than upon the one we this day dedicate to God and humanity.

Patriotism. Pleading with the students to remain in Mississippi, Galloway emphasized Millsaps' role in making this possible. By appealing to the emotion of patriotism, he not only urged youthful talent to give that state the benefits of their abilities, but he also encouraged support of the college, pointing out that Millsaps could help keep students in Mississippi. In short, Galloway identified a practical side of having such a school in the state when he commented that,

> I pray also that this college may become the nursery of pure Christian patriotism; that it may serve to root the affection of our sons to their native soil and inspire them with lofty purposes to make its yield of character and culture meet the just expectations of a generous Providence.

Loyalty to an Institution. Advocating the need for

more followers than leaders offered a challenge for the bishop in that few of his listeners were apt to see much glory in such advice. Thus, he appealed to their loyalty to the church by commenting that "The heroism following a sublime idea is more honorable than the aspirations of local leadership." In this manner, Galloway made a mundane task appear important and grand while at the same time he encouraged loyalty.

Building. Galloway's intent to encourage further building of Millsaps was primarily expressed in various forms of support or in emotional appeals. In one instance, however, the bishop made an obvious bid for their desire to create by building when he noted that "we must continue to toil." Also, the bishop warned that progress was often slow but that "Labor and patience will have their true reward."

Assessment

During the latter part of the nineteenth century as Methodists became increasingly interested in educating their youth, Millsaps College was established in Jackson, Mississippi. On June 13, 1893, when Galloway delivered his "Address at the Dedication of Millsaps" in the college chapel, he sought to impress upon his listeners the importance of Christian education and offered some suggestions as

to how Millsaps could best serve this purpose. Galloway employed supporting materials consisting of analogies, quotations, illustration, and specific examples. In addition, he made use of ethical appeals, and he attempted to arouse the emotions of fear, sympathy, reverence of a deity, reputation, pride, patriotism, loyalty to an institution, and building.

While on the surface this was a simple speech, Galloway once again demonstrated personal conviction to a cause and a rhetorical cunningness. Unafraid to offer suggestions and imply criticism, perhaps Galloway was overly candid for the occasion when he called for a specific policy for Millsaps and other Methodist-supported colleges and when he issued a plea for more followers rather than more leaders. This raises the question of intent. The nature of his remarks suggests that the bishop directed his comments to specific individuals. In citing the church's need for a uniform educational policy, he blamed the lack of such a program upon "individual enterprise or ambition" and added that "Any worthy brother representing a piece of property called a college" can "proceed under the auspices and authority of the Church." In his discussion of the problem of too many leaders and not enough followers, Galloway extended a plea for persons who could be loyal to an adopted

plan rather than be guided by individual opinion. This criticism must have been irritating to those to whom his remarks were directed. Yet, Galloway's zeal is understandable when one remembers that he had worked long for that day, personally involved to the extent that perhaps he demonstrated a paternal interest in the school.

One of the most notable aspects of Galloway's speech was that in being careful to include everyone in his remarks, he directed specific comments to every group present: the faculty, students, parents, the church, and those who were in direct control of the school. As a father speaking to his children, Galloway praised, chided, and suggested to each group the needs and the potentials of Millsaps.

The bishop's intense desire to see Millsaps succeed found its expression in a wide range of emotional appeals, but little variety in supporting material was evident. Typical of a ceremonial speech, no hard facts or figures were mentioned; no documented arguments were offered. Possibly that strategy had been employed in the various fund-raising speeches delivered prior to the opening of the college. Then too, the ceremonial occasion lent itself to a heavy use of emotional appeals and less factual supporting materials. However, Galloway's use of fear appeals suggests his uneasiness about the future of Millsaps. Perhaps he

dreaded the thought that the college might not endure and thus felt a need to emphasize such subjects as endowments and support from the parents and church. Through his extensive use of fear appeals at a happy occasion, Galloway revealed himself to be a practical rhetorician, who refused to let this opportunity pass, for here was an audience composed of the school's supporters and others who would be actively involved in the institution's future, thus offering an opportune time to speak his mind and assert influence.

While few public notices reported the responses to Galloway's speech, the New Orleans Christian Advocate did comment favorably on the event:

> The Bishop was at his best, his thought study well adjusted, fresh bright as an oriental scimitar and just as sharp, sometimes flashing with humor and sometimes smiting like a cyclone. He knows how to organize his sentences for beauty and power, and he knows how to marshall his thoughts for consummate results. Of his effort all agree there was inspiration in it and by it, and only one thing to regret--it was too short.[19]

This response, limited to very general comments, implies that this particular address was not especially noteworthy, especially as compared to some of Galloway's other speeches. Certainly the event was of substantial importance to the Methodists and the people of Jackson. Yet, in relation to

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[19] Christian Advocate [New Orleans], June 22, 1893, p. 4.

his "Address at the Dedication of the Capitol of Mississippi" and "The South and the Negro," the occasion was not as vital to the general public or to the South.

GALLOWAY'S ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION OF THE NEW STATE CAPITOL

With Bishop Galloway as the featured speaker, the new state capitol of Mississippi was formally dedicated on the anniversary of Jefferson Davis' birth, June 3, 1903. Urging his listeners to embrace political and commercial opportunities, Galloway's "Oration at the Dedication of the New Capitol of Mississippi" exemplified his progressive spirit and categorized him as a New South orator. On that early summer day in Jackson, Mississippi, Charles Galloway, like many orators in this time of idealism in post-war southern oratory, attempted to instill a new sense of pride in his audience. Francis Gaines explains the function of speeches delivered after the war as an effort to bring consolation and self-respect to the listeners which would serve as a "basis for future confidence."[20]

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[20]Francis Pendleton Gaines, Southern Oratory, A Study In Idealism (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1946), p. 51.

General Background

Why did the people of Mississippi who heard Galloway speak on that celebrated occasion need a restoration of pride and confidence? In all likelihood, there were many present who remembered the plight of Jackson and the rest of the state during the years of war and Reconstruction. Jackson, as well as other cities in Mississippi, had suffered heavily during that period.

During the war, Jackson experienced great damage from Union troops on four occasions: May 14-16, 1863; July 17-23, 1863; February 5-7, 1864; and July 5-6, 1864. Referring to those assaults on the city, one historian concludes that the capitol city suffered "comparatively greater material loss from the brutal hand of the conqueror than those of any other Southern City."[21] During her first seige, Jackson was taken by General William Tecumseh Sherman on May 14, 1863. From behind closed window blinds, the residents of Jackson observed the destruction of their community. The local Negroes were invited to share in the taking of private property. Both General Ulysses Grant and General Sherman began the destruction of Jackson by burning cotton, local stores, the penitentiary, and other buildings.

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[21]William D. McCain, op. cit., p. 203.

Reportedly, troops broke into safes, robbed ladies of jewelry and money, and destroyed furniture in the Capitol and governor's mansion. After creating a smoldering Jackson, Sherman's forces vacated the city and then Grant moved toward Vicksburg.[22]

Jackson was taken a second time in July 1863 after the fall of Vickburg. The surrounding country-side was victimized as Union troops overran crops and destroyed railroads.[23]

Mississippi's capitol city emerged from the war in a state of deprivation and humiliation as the governor was arrested and taken to prison while Jackson was subjected to military rule.[24]

Though historians have not agreed on the characteristics or time of the New South, that term came to be used as a symbol of a new era that followed the war.[25] Perhaps the first thrust of that movement was realized in the late 1870s when the North increasingly became aware of the great

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[22] Ibid., pp. 197-198.

[23] Ibid., pp. 200-201.

[24] Ibid., p. 204.

[25] Paul M. Gaston, The New South Creed (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), pp. 4-5.

economic potential which lay below the Mason Dixon Line, for here was an area with land and labor as well as cheap building facilities; here was opportunity for investment and thus profit.[26] On the whole, the South welcomed this bid for progress as power moved from the landowners to industry and merchants.[27] By the 1880s the New South movement was in full swing primarily because of the bleak economic state of that region, making northern money all the more attractive.[28]

The 1900s brought better times as the price of cotton, after a low in 1898, began to rise in 1900 and again in 1903, and as the factories and cotton mills began to supply jobs for whites and Negroes. Then too, though there were still ill feelings between the North and South, by 1900 they were not as strong as in past years.[29] While of little importance during the 1900s, perhaps one of the most significant movements during the early part of the twentieth century was that on behalf of education in the South. In 1900, southern schools were for the most part poorly

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[26] C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971, p. 114.

[27] Ibid., p. 124.

[28] Gaston, op. cit., p. 7; Cash, op. cit., pp. 145-149.

[29] Cash, op. cit., pp. 194-198.

attended and inadequate, and out of that dire situation arose the Conference for Southern Education. By 1901 the Conference began to attract attention and its members resolved to begin a campaign in the South to promote public schools for all, white and black. Though that campaign did not emerge in Mississippi until 1905, it was initiated in Tennessee and Virginia in 1903.[30] Meanwhile, in Mississippi, after James K. Vardaman managed to secure the Democratic nomination for governor, he sought the rural vote by preaching white supremacy and economic and social reform.[31] Vardaman's strategy was based upon anti-Negro agitation, and the main issue was the distribution of school funds with Vardaman advocating that money be allotted according to the amount of taxes paid. Since most of the state's revenue was supplied by property taxes and few Negroes owned property, the success of such a stand would have resulted in a lack of financial support for black schools. The politician also argued that education of blacks only served to increase their criminality rather than their improvement. In contrast, Vardaman's opponents advocated some form of limited education

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[30] Woodward, op. cit., pp. 398-404.

[31] Ibid., p. 375.

for Negroes.[32] Vardaman's approach regarding the race question appealed to the agrarian masses in Mississippi but "sensitive and genteel men could not accept the white supremacy creed in such stark reality."[33] Charles Galloway represented the latter, and the contrast between Vardaman's and Galloway's views revealed a division among Mississippi whites on how to treat Negroes. Both believed blacks should be relegated to an inferior social position, yet Galloway wanted them treated humanely. On the other hand, because Vardaman believed such an approach would only "spoil able field hands," the bishop and the politician clashed several times.[34]

Specific Occasion

In the midst of Vardaman's campaign for governor, Mississippi was passing through a period of reverence for antebellum times and sought to keep those memories vivid by

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[32]William F. Holmes, The White Chief, James Kimble Vardaman (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), pp. 100-101; Nannie Pitts McLemore, "The Progressive Era," A History of Mississippi, I, ed. Richard Aubrey McLemore (Hattiesburg: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973), pp. 34-35.

[33]Holmes, op. cit., p. 385.

[34]Ibid., p. 131.

erecting memorials. Loewen and Sallis report that,

> Between 1890 and 1915, Confederate memorials were built throughout Mississippi. Right after the Civil War, most people had not wanted to remember or celebrate, but now times had changed. The 'Lost Cause' was not really lost, and the memorials helped increase feelings of white supremacy and white solidarity.[35]

Though the structure itself was the result of Governor A. H. Longino's campaign promise and not intended to promote white supremacy, the dedication of the new capitol in Jackson on June 3, 1903, did serve as a remembrance of Old South days since the event was specifically planned to occur on the anniversary of Jefferson Davis' birth.[36]

According to the Nashville Christian Advocate, "For months preparations for the event have been in operation."[37] Two days prior to the occasion the Jackson Evening News reported that "Jackson is putting on her gaudy dress today and the town is fairly resplendent in bunting."[38] The article added, "Jackson determined long ago to put its best

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[35]James W. Loewen and Charles Sallis (eds.), Mississippi: Conflict and Change (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), p. 191.

[36]Nannie Pitts McLemore, "The Progressive Era," op. cit., p. 32.

[37]Christian Advocate [Nashville], June 18, 1903, p. 8.

[38]Jackson Evening News, June 1, 1903, p. 3.

foot forward and this it is doing."[39]

In spite of the rain on June 3, the festivities began with a parade which marched from the old capitol building to the new structure. Though the rain broke up the procession, the crowd regathered at the site of the capitol and ceremonies continued when State House Commissioner R. H. Thompson presented a trowel to E. N. Thomas, Grand Master of the Masons. A temporary stand had been erected at the right of the grand entrance to the structure and there Judge J. F. McCool delivered a ten minute speech on behalf of the Masons. At that point the cornerstone was laid, after which the crowd moved to the front of the building for more speeches which took place on the steps of the grand entrance on a temporary platform, while the audience gathered on the walk beneath. The first speaker was Governor Andrew Longino who spoke for twenty minutes. Galloway was followed by Chief Justice Albert Hall Whitfield who closed the ceremonies.[40]

Audience

Apparently great throngs of people were present on that day as the Jackson Evening News reports:

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[39] Ibid.

[40] Jackson Evening News, June 3, 1903, pp. 15-16.

> From every farm, village, town, station, and cross-roads store, they have been pouring in on wagons, trains, and some a foot; and all day long they have made the streets of Jackson look like a moving river, a living tide.[41]

Likewise the Nashville Christian Advocate reported,

> 'Double header' excursion trains were run on the various railroad lines entering the city and brought their streams of living freight. The city was literally flooded with people as well as water (for it was a day of constant rains).[42]

Just how many were present is difficult to determine, since there were at least three different estimates. The Jackson Evening News estimated that fifteen thousand attended, while the New Orleans Christian Advocate reported thirty thousand.[43] But McLemore's History of Mississippi estimated the number to be at twenty to twenty-five thousand.[44] Most probably the actual number was somewhere between the fifteen thousand estimated by the Jackson Evening News and the twenty-five thousand suggested by McLemore. The New Orleans Christian Advocate was strongly pro-Galloway and might have exaggerated the size of the crowd to hear his address.

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[41] Ibid., p. 15.

[42] Christian Advocate [Nashville], June 18, 1903, p. 8.

[43] Jackson Evening News, June 4, 1903, p. 8; Christian Advocate [New Orleans], June 18, 1903, p. 7.

[44] Nannie Pitts McLemore, "The Progressive Era," op. cit., p. 32.

The spirit of the day was a combination of rekindled memories of the past and optimism regarding the future as evidenced by the Jackson Evening News:

> The Mississippi that built the old mansion for the lawmakers is not the Mississippi that erected the new handsome home. The same unconquerable spirit is here; she has the same chivalrous sons, the same beautiful daughters; her men are as valiant and as brave as those of the past of blessed memory, and her women are as fair and as sweet as the sainted ones of years ago; but the conditions of life have changed; the structure of the civilization has been remodeled, from out of the flames of war and the ashes of reconstruction was builded a new state, a new civilization, a new people. The old order changeth, yielding place to the new.[45]

The presence of Mississippi's Confederate veterans probably inspired memories of the past. A contemporary account reported that, "The veterans of Mississippi have invaded Jackson and the Capitol City has surrendered and stands with outstretched arms to welcome the heroes of the Confederacy."[46] The Jackson Evening News continued:

> They are meeting today recalling the old times of dreary marches and bloody charges and as they recount the days of the heroic past there is a blending of cheers and tears, of smiles and sighs, glad salutations and sorrowful reminiscences.[47]

In addition to the general population from various

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[45] Jackson Evening News, June 3, 1903, p. 1.

[46] Jackson Evening News, June 2, 1903, p. 1.

[47] Ibid.

parts of the state who had travelled to Jackson for the celebration and the Confederate veterans, eight companies of the Mississippi National Guard and various public officials were also on hand. Included in the parade that marched from the old building to the new capitol were veterans, the National Guard, the architect of the new building, and governmental officials who were led by the former governor of Mississippi, Robert Lowry, who was also commander of the United Confederate Veterans of the Mississippi divisions.[48] According to McLemore, other participants included the United Daughters of the Confederacy, bands, Grand Officers of the Grand Lodge of Masons, and representatives of other fraternal and civic organizations.[49]

Purpose

The primary purpose of Galloway's speech was to encourage the people of Mississippi to accept the New South. Though most of the populace were likely in favor of economic advancements, many were not ready to accept the specific suggestions set forth by Bishop Galloway. The occasion provided the orator with an excellent opportunity to explain

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[48] Jackson Evening News, June 3, 1903, p. 15.

[49] Nannie Pitts McLemore, "The Progressive Era," op. cit., p. 32.

his views to a large number of Mississippians. The throng marching from the old structure to the new capitol was an act symbolic of a more abstract transition, moving from an old era into a new period. Grasping this occasion as a vehicle for his ideas, the orator suggested specific paths for Mississippi's future. In general, he advocated an adherence to the worthy ideals of the Old South and the Constitution, while at the same time, he encouraged the region to assert itself in the national political arena.

It should also be noted that this event was scheduled during the controversial governor's race in which the major contender, James K. Vardaman, campaigned across Mississippi appealing to racial biases. Not overlooking the great number of voters present on June 3, 1903, Galloway offered his own views on that matter by uring Mississippi to settle the race problem and grant "equal opportunities" to the Negro.

Theme

Utilizing a chronological development Galloway contended that Mississippi's past had been heroic and grand, her present was prosperous, and that the state faced a "wonderful to-morrow." By describing the great heritage of Mississippi's past and praising the state's great progress in terms of public education, the orator heightened the listeners' sense of pride. Though Galloway clearly predicted

a great future, he qualified that prediction with specific suggestions for making such dreams a reality by urging the South to take on a more active role in national politics and to become more progressive without sacrificing its traditional political ideals. In addition, he urged the South to deal justly with blacks. As his speech progressed, the orator sometimes referred to the South, rather than Mississippi, thus extending his remarks to a larger region.

Basic Premises

Developing several premises in his address, Galloway asserted that Mississippi had a great heritage and had stood severe tests during the war and Reconstruction, thus vindicating "every high confidence." While he theorized that Mississippi's future appeared prosperous, he also warned the state to adhere to the Constitution as well as to the political ideals of the traditional Old South. Looking to the future, Galloway viewed the South in need of progressive leaders who could aid that region in claiming its rightful place in national politics.

On the other hand, developing two additional premises which were probably not acceptable to all his listeners, he recommended that Mississippi educate all citizens, stressing that the South must handle the race problem and grant the

Negro "equal opportunities."

Lines of Argument

By praising Mississippi's great past and promising future, Galloway instilled a sense of confidence, thereby encouraging them to embrace those inevitable changes and challenges presented by the New South era. In commenting upon the past, he lavishly praised that region's great leaders and the courage displayed by the South during the war and Reconstruction. In looking ahead, the orator attributed the state's grand future to the completion of the Panama Canal which he predicted would turn the Mississippi valley into "the pulsing center of the industry, wealth, and power of this great nation."

Galloway viewed one of the major challenges facing the New South to be a more important role in national decision-making which would require more progressive leaders. In assuring his audience that southern traditions were not to be totally obliterated, he asserted that "there is urgent demand for a reestablishment of the lofty political ideals of our fathers in the South," defined by Galloway as politicians who were of integrity. Then acknowledging that "sectionalism is vanishing from our national councils," and that the South had proven her loyalty to the American flag by eager willingness to serve in the Spanish War, the orator

suggested that the North was taking a more objective view of southern leaders, which readied his audience to accept the following suggestion with some degree of confidence:

> We have a right, therefore, to protest against being kept on perpetual probation. If the South contains a statesman with eminent qualifications for the presidency of this great nation, there should be no hesitancy in urging his nomination and election.

In light of the South's weak political stature nationally, perhaps Galloway hoped for the impossible. As reported by Woodward, between 1861 and 1912 Andrew Johnson was the only southerner to serve as president or vice-president. The South was in the minority in terms of its number of representatives among members of the cabinet, justices of the Supreme Court, and speakers of the House of Representatives. Then too, southerners, lacking a two-party system, consistently adhered to the Democratic party. In the four presidential elections between 1896 and 1908, the Republicans were victorious, the majority of the Democratic votes coming from the South.[50] Thus, in addition to inspiring his listeners toward greater efforts in entering the national political arena, perhaps he also hoped to promote via suggestion the initiation of a second party in that region.

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[50]Woodward, op. cit., pp. 456-461.

Galloway's strong belief in educational benefits for blacks was another major suggestion for the South's future. Reasoning inductively, the orator first stressed the state's increase in taxable property which made funding possible for public education, then praised Mississippi's past support of public education, and finally asserted that education was "vital to the very existence of democracy," making necessary the education of all citizens, black and white. As he moved forward in his reasoning, the bishop's position became increasingly specific when he asserted that blacks and whites must learn to live together and advocated that "this problem should be left to the southern people for solution."

Organization

For the most part, Galloway organized his ideas according to a time pattern, including the past, the present, and the future, or what Thonssen, Baird, and Braden term the historical method of arrangement.[51] Though the bishop's first statements in his introduction were not limited to a view of the past, before completing his introductory remarks he had turned to history and reminded his listeners of the memories locked in the old capitol. From that point on,

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[51]Thonssen, Baird, and Braden, op. cit., pp. 472-473.

as the orator progressed through the body of his address, he dealt with former times by praising Mississippi in terms of its heritage and courage. The element of retrospective permitted Galloway to revere historic events and people, thereby arousing a sense of pride in his listeners. With the use of transitional statements such as "after a long and bitter night, the morning dawns," the speaker discussed the present status of that state. Again, with the aid of connectives, he began his discourse on Mississippi's future and his suggestions for meeting that challenge. Adhering closely to this time pattern of organization, the orator's conclusion referred to the future as he expressed his hope that "this day of jubilee be the beginning of larger plans and loftier hopes and wider visions and grander achievements."

Forms of Support

In enlarging upon his ideas concerning the potential of the New South, the orator employed the following supporting materials: restatement, quotations, examples, statistics, comparison and contrast.

Restatement. Relying upon restatement during his introductory remarks, Galloway emphasized the glorious history of the old capitol:

> Glorious memories linger around that old building, and honored names are associated with its history. Wonderful scenes were there enacted--scenes that were tragic, heroic, sometimes comic, scenes that changed the currents of the century and mightily affected the nation's destiny. Though its walls are stained and bare, our loving imaginations have adorned every square foot of space with the portraits of heroes and patriots whose features grow stronger and dearer with the passing years. Its atmosphere is yet tremulous with the echoes of eloquent voices and the strange presence of conscious but unseen spirits.

Having briefly mentioned heroes and important events, these statements were an appropriate means of introducing the first major premise, the greatness of Mississippi's past. Again, the orator relied upon restatement as he discussed the state's great leaders. Dramatizing the fine qualities of those men, he stated, "What a heritage of heroic and historic names have we to fire our souls and stir every noble ambition!" Continuing his exalted description, he added, "What manly courage to be imitated! What sublime achievements to be emulated! What radiant virtues to be reincarnated!" Galloway saw those individuals as fine examples for the people of Mississippi.

Quotation. Relying frequently upon the remarks of others, Galloway devoted much of his address to praising almost every aspect of Mississippi, beginning with a glorification of the capitol itself. The orator described the

structure as "awe-inspiring" and placed it in the same category as other great architectural beauties of the world: "As Reginald Hebner said of the Taj Mahal in India, it looks like 'the conception of Titans and the handiwork of jewelers.'"

Citing examples of that state's great leaders, Galloway amplified his praise of Seargent S. Prentiss by means of a quotation:

> There was Sargent [sic] S. Prentiss, the alliterative music of whose eloquence was equaled only by the majestic sweep of his invincible logic. Chief Justice Taney said: 'If he were not the greatest of orators, I would pronounce him the profoundest of lawyers.'

One of the orator's more interesting uses of quotations was presented in dialogue form as he dramatically developed his belief that "mighty destinies await us, when brilliant prophecy shall be converted into glorious history:"

> It is said that Henry Clay, when crossing the summits of the Alleghany [sic] Mountains on one occasion, alighted from the stagecoach and stood, silently, reverently, for some moments as if listening for distant echoes. Friends at length asked: 'Mr. Clay, for what are you listening?' The great tribune of the people replied: 'I am listening for the footsteps of the coming millions.'

Utilizing Clay's remarks as prophecy, Galloway added that the Mississippi Valley would someday be "the wonder of the world."

Amory Dwight Mayo, northern educator, clergyman, and friend to the New South spokesmen, served as the source for

Galloway's contention that Mississippi had made much progress in terms of education.[52] Developing this idea, the bishop stated:

> Dr. Mayo, of Boston, a distinguished authority in such matters, made this emphatic statement: 'No other people in human history have made an effort so remarkable as the people of the South in reestablishing their schools and colleges.'

Galloway continued by quoting Dr. Mayo's statistics regarding the South's expenditures for education. First, the observation should be made that while Galloway cited Mississippi as being supportive of education, Dr. Mayo referred to the entire South. Apparently the bishop reasoned that the quotation would apply to Mississippi as one of the southern states. Second, Galloway was careful to remind his audience that Dr. Mayo was from Boston; an outsider and a northerner would perhaps be viewed as an objective observer, adding more impact to Galloway's assertion.

Contending that "sectionalism is vanishing from our national councils," Galloway encouraged a feeling of national loyalty by citing the words of Lucius Q. C. Lamar, one of the South's revered leaders:

> Senator Lamar, from his place in the Senate of the United States, and speaking for the whole South, uttered these tremendously significant words:

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[52] Gaston, op. cit., p. 101.

> 'From the day of the surrender of her armies to the present moment in no part of her vast territory has one single hand of insurrection been raised against the authority of the American Union.'

Further amplifying the idea, he added:

> And it was another gallant Mississippian who, with eloquent speech and a far more eloquent armless sleeve at his side, in the early years after the war, gave expression to this soulful sentiment: 'We have given the parole of soldiers to maintain the honor of the Federal government and the integrity of the constitutional union of these states. The redemption of this pledge has become our political faith.'

Emphasizing the South's loyalty to the Union, Galloway prepared his audience for his suggestion that the time had come for the South "to claim and demand the full fellowship and absolute confidence of our great national brotherhood."

Though there were few negative ideas expressed in Galloway's dedication address, he clearly reminded his listeners of those unhappy days of Reconstruction, and in doing so he referred to the gallant manner in which the South bore her humiliation. Mentioning the "hordes of plunderers and vultures who fed and fattened upon the disarmed and defenseless South," the speaker stressed those injustices by quoting Judge Jere Black:

> As Judge Jere Black with characteristic vividness and vigor has said: 'Their felonious fingers were made long enough to reach into the pockets of posterity. They coined the industry of future generations into cash and snatched the inheritance from children whose fathers are unborn. A conflagration sweeping over the State from one end to the other

> and destroying every building and every article of personal property would have been a visitation of mercy in comparison to the curse of such a government.'

This vivid description demonstrated the courage of the South. Judge Black's comments were especially appropriate for that audience, for those present who were too young to have experienced the events could view themselves as that "future generation."

Examples. Another significant form of support was the bishop's use of examples, employed primarily to amplify praise-worthy qualities of the South or Mississippi. His most effective use of examples occurred early in his address. Generalizing that "no State had purer patriots or braver statesmen or manlier men or holier women," Galloway supported his claims with a role call of that state's great leaders. Including Jefferson Davis, Seargent S. Prentiss, and Lucius Q. C. Lamar in his list, Galloway amplified the virtues of each. Other examples, less fully developed, were Davis Holmes, Major Thomas Hinds, George Poindexter, John A. Quitman, William L. Sharkey, Chief Justice Marshall, Edward C. Walthall, Sir Robert Peel, James E. George, and John Marshall Stone. The list was long enough to give the impression that Mississippi could claim not just one or two great men, but many. Galloway failed to include any "holier women."

Looking to the Spanish War, the speaker reminded his listeners of national loyalty displayed by the South. Citing examples, he stated that the "first valiant American to respond to that call of the country was a son of the South." Then he gave a second example: "And the largest volunteer enlistment for that Spanish War, among all the States of the Union, was from a Southern commonwealth." Because only a few years had passed since that conflict, memories were easily recalled. Having demonstrated that the South was ready to take its place in national politics, Galloway continued by emphasizing the end of sectionalism. To illustrate that point, he cited the actions of a northerner, William McKinley, who "proposed that the government should garland and protect the graves of our Confederate dead." This act of solidarity on the part of the nation, Galloway implied, placed the burden on the South to do likewise.

Statistics. Galloway's use of statistics was limited to his discussion of education. Lauding the "marvelous changes" that had taken place "since the old capitol was first occupied in 1839," he made no attempt to round off his figures and thereby gave the impression of exactness:

> Then the white population of this young commonwealth was only 178,667; now our aggregate citizenship is 1,570,000. Then there were only 454 students in college, and now there are over 3,600. Then there

> were 8,273 pupils in the common schools; now there are 412,646, of whom 208,346 are colored.

In another instance, asserting that the plight of Mississippi had much improved in the area of education, Galloway quoted Dr. Mayo concerning the efforts of the entire South:

> 'Last year these sixteen States paid nearly $1,000,000 each for educational purposes, a sum greater, according to their means, than ten times the amount now paid by most of the New England States.'

Once again using statistical information, the speaker referred to Mississippi's present financial situation, which he viewed as encouraging in spite of the past war and Reconstruction:

> The total taxable property in Mississippi is $241,000,000, and the rate of increase never had such an accelerated movement. Even within the past three years the assessed valuation of property, real and personal, increased $52,713,217. The appropriations for education in the same period advanced $642,798. The bonded indebtedness of the State has been decreased $400,000, while the tax levy has been reduced from six and one-half mills to six mills on the dollar. The total amount from the State, county, and city taxation devoted to education is $2,163,748.97.

Comparison. As Bishop Galloway listed Mississippi's great leaders, he stressed their outstanding qualities. Employing comparison, the speaker praised Lucius Q. C. Lamar by placing him in the same category with Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, and inferring that Lamar was like the Biblical figure, John the Baptist:

> He united in himself many of the distinguishing characteristics of America's grand senatorial triumvirate. Websterian in his masterful grasp of the great constitutional principles and as profound and unerring as Calhoun in the stately and steady march of his logical processes, he could at will command the imperial eloquence of Henry Clay in the illustration and enforcement of mighty argument. He was the first Southern representative after the war to rift the darkness of our national skies and bring light into these despairing parallels. The voice that spoke over the dead Sumner, like another prophet in the wilderness, proclaimed the day-dawn of our national peace, the cloudless sunburst of our Federal immortality.

Galloway's strong estimation of Lamar perhaps was due to the presence of Lamar as a professor at the University of Mississippi when Galloway was a student.[53]

Contrast. Several times during his address, Galloway praised the American Constitution and advised his listeners to follow its principles. He illustrated the greatness of that document by contrasting it to the five constitutions devised by the French between 1791 and 1799. He admired the American document for having stood the test of time, unlike that of the French.

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[53]Charles Betts Galloway, Great Men and Great Movements; A Volume of Addresses by Galloway, op. cit., pp. 197-198.

Ethical Appeals

Thonssen, Baird, and Braden suggest that character, sagacity, and good-will are the constituents of ethical proof, but they point out that "a speaker may give credibility to his message in a variety of ways."[54] Galloway made few efforts in this speech to heighten his ethos, limiting his attempts to creating good will. Undoubtedly, the absence of ethical appeals was because of the high ethos he possessed prior to the address. Bishop Galloway was well known, for the people of Mississippi were familiar with his political stands on such issues as prohibition and mob-rule. Those who belonged to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, knew Galloway not only through his work on behalf of missions and his pastoral experiences, but also as a high official in the church. The address was delivered in Jackson, where the bishop had pastored a church and was thus well known by the townspeople. Then too, Bishop Galloway was frequently requested to officiate at political events and participate in state and local affairs. For example, in 1890 when the Constitutional Convention of Mississippi met, Galloway was

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[54]Thonssen, Baird, and Braden, op. cit., p. 458.

on hand to offer the opening prayer.[55] And, when the legislature called for the establishment of a historical commission, Galloway was among those named.[56] That he, a minister and non-political figure, was asked to serve as one of the key speakers of that particular occasion is an indication that Bishop Galloway was viewed as an individual of influence in Mississippi.

All of Galloway's attempts at heightening good will occurred during his introductory remarks. First congratulating and welcoming his listeners, the speaker continued by praising the event and identifying himself with the audience: "With glad hearts we hail the completion of a magnificent structure which will ever be the pride of our people, and with patriotic reverence we dedicate it to the cause of human liberty and constitutional government." Through the use of pronouns "we" and "our" he identified himself with the audience and associated himself with virtuous intent. In short, Galloway used ethical appeals as he

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[55]James P. Coleman, "The Mississippi Constitution of 1890 and the Final Decade of the Nineteenth Century," A History of Mississippi, II, ed. Richard Aubrey McLemore (Hattiesburg: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973), p. 11.

[56]Nannie Pitts McLemore, "The Progressive Era," op. cit., p. 33.

welcomed his listeners and acknowledged the significance of the event. However, in identifying himself with his audience, the speaker encouraged a more responsive attitude as he later offered suggestions for Mississippi's future.

Emotional Appeals

As Galloway urged his listeners to accept the spirit of the New South, he utilized appeals to loyalty, anger, fear, pride, power, reverence, and independence.

Loyalty. Galloway used appeals to national loyalty or patriotism when he discussed sectionalism. Contending that sectional animosity was vanishing, the bishop quoted Senator Lamar to remind his audience that since the surrender of the South, "'in no part of her vast territory has one single hand of insurrection been raised against the authority of the American Union.'" With this quotation he asserted the loyalty of the South to the national flag. Employing various forms of support, Galloway stressed southern loyalty, insisting that "This nation is more united in heart and hope to-day than ever in its history." Referring to the South, he added:

> The honor of our flag is as dear to the sons of the South as to the sons of the North, and wrapped in its glorious folds, they have been laid to sleep in the same heroic grave.

Then the orator specifically noted Mississippi's attitude toward the Union: "And I trust that we may forever fight the battles of our God and country under a common flag on which there is a star which answers to the proud name of Mississippi." By contending that the South was loyal to the Union, perhaps the orator hoped to further promote the sense of national patriotism. However, among those lofty sentiments, Galloway took a practical approach when he mentioned that the time had come for the South "to claim and demand the full fellowship and absolute confidence of our great national brotherhood." He further noted that "If the South contains a statesman with eminent qualifications for the presidency of this great nation, there should be no hesitancy in urging his nomination and election." Bishop Galloway encouraged his region to become politically active at the federal level. The whole point of his discussion of the South's loyalty was revealed when the speaker explained, "our domestic troubles may find easier solution in the broadening of our sympathies and enlarging the field of our political activities." The ramifications of that statement were significant, for here the speaker suggested that southerners forget sectional sentiments, to some extent, and cooperate with the nation in order to solve the difficult problems of that region.

Anger. Avoiding negative ideas in this oration, Galloway appealed to the motive of anger only once as he described the horrors of Reconstruction. Lamenting the suffering of southerners during that period, he remarked that "more heartless than robber bands that infested Germany after the Thirty Years' War were the hordes of plunderers and vultures who fed and fattened upon the disarmed and defenseless South." This anger was not directed to the North as a whole, but toward those who took advantage of a defeated people. Primarily, Galloway used that unfortunate experience to depict the South's courage, concluding that "no brave people ever endured oppression and poverty with such calm dignity and splendid self-restraint." This minor insertion of anger-arousing language served as an effective backdrop for the South's suffering, making the southerners appear all the more praise-worthy as they endured against almost overwhelming odds.

Fear. Galloway made only scant use of fear appeals. After praising Mississippi's efforts in promoting education, the orator expressed his belief that education for the common man was "vital to the very existence of democracy." Seemingly anticipating that compliments concerning past achievements might be inadequate means for urging a

continuation of such efforts, Galloway added, "We are living under the reign of the common people and must, therefore, educate our masters." Appealing to a sense of fear, he warned that "failure to do so means the inevitable doom of the republic."

A less obvious appeal to the emotion of fear occurred when the orator urged quality citizenship, which he never clearly defined. However, he suggested his meaning by citing the decline of Greece as due to "their loss of faith and the lowering of their personal and national ideals." Reminding the listeners that "Greece lives only in memory," the speaker did not actually state that the same thing could happen to the South, but his listeners likely projected the link.

Pride. Much of Galloway's oration was intended to arouse a sense of pride as he exalted Mississippi, and this theme prevailed throughout the entire address. He referred to the structure itself as "the pride of our people," representing their "refined taste." In describing the great heroes of that state's past, the orator appealed to pride. Likewise, he presented that state as "the home and scene of the world's grandest civilizations." Reminding his listeners of the devastation of Reconstruction, he mentioned the "proud people." Even the "educational history of Mississippi is

worthy of highest honor." Over and over, the bishop praised that region for past accomplishments. Monroe and Ehninger view pride as encompassing reputation and self respect.[57] By utilizing compliments from outsiders, such as Dr. Mayo of Boston, the speaker led his audience to view themselves as a part of a region which had regained some of its past reputation for greatness. Then too, seeing themselves in a worthy light, the people gained self respect. Past accomplishments, worthy of praise, suggest or encourage a feeling of confidence, and in this instance, confidence to accept new ideals and new trends--the New South.

Power. In many instances, Galloway appealed to a sense of pride while at the same time he sought to arouse a feeling of power. For example, in referring to the capitol as representing the "refined taste" of the people, he also cited that structure as signifying "the progressive spirit of an all-conquering people." Pride and power were thereby portrayed as attributes of a progressive people who were willing to accept change. He spoke of Mississippi as being located in an area that provided conditions that would promote a "mental, commercial, and industrial empire." He

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[57]Alan H. Monroe and Douglas Ehninger, Principles of Speech Communication (6th ed.; Atlanta: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1969), p. 250.

described Davis as a "chieftain" and recounted the "triumphs" of Prentiss in the law courts of Vicksburg, Jackson, and New Orleans. The orator lauded the "fortitude" of the South in defeat and the people's "unconquerable spirit." As the bishop predicted the greatness of that region's future, he spoke of "mighty forces," that were "harnessed for sublime achievement." "Grander achievements," "strongest," "greatest," and other adjectives were employed by Galloway as he presented a "civilization that was to be the glory of America, the miracle of history, the wonder of the world."

Reverence. Relying upon his position in the church, Galloway appropriately appealed to reverence of a deity. Careful not to overwork this motive, the bishop limited his attempts to his discussion of the race problem in the South. Explaining that the relationship between the races required cooperation from whites, he noted that "any policy which tends to inflame prejudice and widen the racial chasm postpones indefinitely the final triumphs of the Son of Man among the sons of men." By adding, "But I do insist that the Negro should have equal opportunities with American citizens to fulfill in himself the highest purpose of an all-wise and beneficent Providence," Galloway suggested that opportunities for blacks was God's will and that any

other policy would be interfering with God's work.

Independence. Undoubtedly there was no objection from his listeners when Bishop Galloway declared that the race problem had been made more complicated by outside interference. Though he was careful to preface his remarks with assurances that such actions on the part of the North were "according to the purest motives" and that "criticisms were kindly meant and even well deserved," he took a firm stand and asserted that "this grave problem should be left to the Southern people for solution." While the bishop's suggestions concerning greater political involvement on the part of the South were a step toward greater assertiveness, in this instance he obviously attempted to motivate his region to become more independent in handling its own affairs.

Other Distinctive Elements

Galloway, like other New South spokesmen, turned to the traditions of the Old South as a means of promoting the New South, and perhaps he also "understood instinctively that no progress of reform could do violence to a universally cherished past and hope to succeed."[58] In his dedication address, the orator made use of the Old South myth, the Lost Cause myth, and the New South myth.

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[58]Gaston, op. cit., p. 153.

Old South Myth. Galloway vividly recreated an idyllic picture of life on the antebellum plantation by conjuring up images of the beauty and refinement of its inhabitants and urging his listeners not to forget their noble ancestry. He implied that this past grand life could live once again in a New South:

> The typical plantation of the Old South was a school of character, distinct and distinguished. For generosity and magnanimity its sons had no fears, and in queenly grace and beauty, its daughters had no rivals. The abode of plenty, it developed generosity; the home of hospitality, it was the educator of courtesy and refinement; affording learned leisure, it was at once a school of fine arts and national politics; accustomed to affluence, it encouraged eloquence; proud of pure blood and family traditions, it was the teacher of dignity and stainless honor. Sons of such illustrious ancestry, let us emulate their noble examples and reincarnate their splendid virtues.

Commenting upon the statesmen of that era, Galloway recalled them as gentlemen of honor who "cared little for great wealth and deplored the spirit of gross commercialism." According to the orator, these men of "high-born chivalry" "put integrity above position and scorned political preferment on which was the faintest suspicion of immoral taint." Clearly, the speaker presented the men of the Old South as worthy to emulate and thereby implied that any southern statesman who was honest would be viewed as aristocracy.

Lost Cause Myth. Taking advantage of the great numbers of Confederate veterans gathered for the occasion, Bishop Galloway summoned visions of the Lost Cause through reference to their past accomplishments. He spoke of the "brilliant courage of our heroic legions" as the "astonishment of one army and the admiration of the other." Referring to those "brave souls who bore the flag of their faith" he offered a tribute of "reverence that is little less than adoration. Veterans of the grandest battalions in all history, now wayworn and growing old, we uncover in your presence and crave from each a hero's blessing." While the orator described in detail the virtues of Mississippi's deceased heroes, gathered before him were those living heroes, exemplifying the South's greatness. This must have been one of the emotional highlights of the occasion.

New South Myth. Not limiting his admiration of the South to the grand days of white columned plantations and heroic Confederates, Galloway interpreted the Reconstruction era with a description of the returning soldier who was far from defeated:

> As a matter of fact, he only waited long enough to greet the faithful wife whom he had not seen for four stormy years and kiss the dear children who had grown out of his recognition and then with grim determination put his hand to the stern task of reconstructing his once beautiful home and rebuilding

> shattered fortunes on other and broader foundations.

Approaching that period following the war with great optimism, Galloway considered the South as evolving into a new era. Viewing the future, he cited "a wonderful to-morrow" with "new problems," "new experiments" and "new agencies." He also acknowledged that "new dangers are to be averted, and new enemies are to be overcome." Though he never used the term "New South," projecting a fresh and wonderful period for that region, the orator not only expressed the belief that Mississippi had the potential for industry and commerce, but he also revealed his hope for the South's greater political involvement and independence in dealing with their own problems.

In reminding the people that they had evolved from a heritage of chivalrous and heroic aristocracy, Galloway's unfamiliar era seemed more plausible when he suggested that because the present generation had inherited those fine qualities, as revealed in the southern myths, they were thus capable of ushering in a New South.

Assessment

As Charles Betts Galloway delivered his "Address at the Dedication of the Capitol of Mississippi" on June 3, 1903, in Jackson, Mississippi, he faced a great crowd of

people who had gathered to celebrate the historic event. Certainly some of his listeners had experienced the Civil War and Reconstruction, for Jackson, as well as other cities within the state, had suffered much during that period, and memories were likely rekindled as Confederate veterans began arriving for the dedication.

Seizing upon the opportunity of a large audience and much publicity surrounding the event, the orator urged the creating of a New South. Yet, more importantly, this occasion afforded Galloway the means to influence voters as election day approached and the people had to choose between the radical stand of Vardaman and a more progressive attitude of his opponents. In this instance, Galloway's strategy was especially appropriate in that he briefly, but clearly, advocated opportunities for blacks in the context of urging a progressive attitude on the part of the South. Most of the orator's specific suggestions regarding the South's future course were acceptable to his listeners. Careful not to appear argumentative as he approached the race problem, the bishop was able to assert influence over the voters while adhering to the requirements of the ceremonial occasion.

Making use of historical order in the body of his speech, the speaker discussed the greatness of Mississippi's heritage, her prosperous present, and her promising future.

As Galloway turned to the past, he stressed the people's superior background in terms of the virtues of their former leaders and the courage of their ancestors. In presenting that region's present as the threshhold of an even better tomorrow, the orator devoted his efforts toward explaining that Mississippi had traditionally supported education for the common people and had sufficient funds for continuing this endeavor. Turning to the great future which awaited the state, Galloway offered suggestions for achieving Mississippi's great potential. Apparently, his strategy was to induce the listeners to see themselves as a superior breed in hopes that (1) they might have greater confidence in facing a new period which would involve change and (2) they would not feel threatened by the idea of granting opportunities to blacks, especially in terms of education.

Bishop Galloway identified his specific suggestions with worthy ideals. As he appealed to his listeners to adhere to the Constitution, he mentioned "untainted patriotism" as the basis of that document. In urging a continuation of the political philosophy of the Old South, he described those qualities of that former generation with phrases such as "sensitive honor," and "high-born chivalry." In urging more constructive statesmanship, he advocated political cooperation which he labelled as progress. Encouraging the people

to provide educational opportunities for the blacks, he implied that it was God's will. And he associated greater political involvement on the part of the South with national loyalty and patriotism. There was little the audience could disagree with as the orator suggested changes for the future.

In supporting his ideas, Galloway relied upon restatement, quotations, examples, statistics, comparison, and contrast. Limiting ethical appeals to efforts toward heightening good will, the orator welcomed the crowd, acknowledged the significance of the event, and identified himself with his listeners. In appealing to the basic motives of loyalty, anger, fear, pride, power, reverence, and independence, Galloway's attitude and approach took on a positive note in that he accentuated the good rather than the bad. Thus, he limited his use of appeals to anger and fear, and therefore maintained an appropriate atmosphere for that happy occasion. Though Bishop Galloway did not over emphasize the past grandeur of antebellum days, he employed Old South myths to conjure up visions of chivalry and the old plantation, thus reminding his listeners of their great heritage. Likewise, he took advantage of the Confederate veterans present for the dedication on the birthdate of Jefferson Davis to utilize the Lost Cause myth, pointing out the

courage of the southern soldier during the war, and more importantly, during Reconstruction. Galloway used the past, especially the antebellum period, to emphasize the South's potential for an ever greater future, the New South. In describing the returning soldier as one who readily took up the task of rebuilding, the orator stressed the future; employing New South myths, he revealed a region that was progressive, industrial, politically active, and willing to accept change, provided those changes could be made by the South rather than outsiders.

June 3, 1903, was perhaps Galloway's "finest hour." The audience reaction to this address was favorable. It is certainly the speech that the bishop is best remembered for. According to Mrs. C. L. Neill of Jackson, Mississippi, the immediate response was cordial. At the time of the speech, Mrs. Neill was a senior in high school, and her graduating class attended the ceremony together. She writes that after the speech, "many surged forward quietly to thank him."[59] The Jackson Evening News reported a similar response with such phrases as "his beautiful oratorical efforts" which "thrilled the thousands with the sound of his voice," adding

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[59]Based on personal correspondence between Mrs. C. L. Neill, Jackson, Mississippi, and the writer.

that he "sustained that high reputation that has made him famous the world over."[60]

Galloway presented an oration that was appropriate for the occasion. By carefully organizing and amplifying his ideas and by utilizing emotional language and southern myths, he inspired his listeners to the worthy task of building a greater tomorrow. He also attempted to influence the voters in the upcoming election. His bid for opportunities for blacks was not successful; Vardaman won the race for governor. However, Galloway continued his advocacy of the Negro's rights in "The South and the Negro," delivered the following year in Birmingham, Alabama.

GALLOWAY'S SPEECH AT THE CONFERENCE FOR EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH

Having only briefly mentioned his support for educational opportunities for blacks in his speech at the dedication of the new state capitol of Mississippi in 1903, a year later Galloway directed his oratorical skills toward that cause when he delivered "The South and the Negro" at the Seventh Annual Conference for Education in the South in Birmingham, Alabama. Made up of business men, college

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[60] Jackson Evening News, June 3, 1903 (page number illegible).

administrators, teachers, clergymen and those who were interested in promoting education of the masses in the South, the Conference provided the bishop with eager ears as he advocated a mission to which that group was already committed. Of his speeches on education, this is perhaps Galloway's best known discourse on that subject.

General Background

The South had acquired a solidarity during the bitter war years, but in spite of defeat this common purpose continued in the period following that conflict. One aspect of that solidarity, manifested in the South's adherence to its basic social principle regarding the superiority of whites to blacks, provided a breeding ground for racial problems.[61] One such difficulty was that of mob-violence and lynchings of Negroes. While the number of black lynchings in the nation peaked in the 1890s and then began a general decline, these crimes in the South increased from about eighty-two percent in 1889 to 1899 to about ninety-two percent in the period between 1900 and 1909. Then too, because many southerners were certain that the morality of the Negro was on the decline, pessimism arose regarding race relations

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[61] Cash, op. cit., pp. 103-107.

in that region, and became more pronounced as the proportion of crime among blacks increased in urban areas. One result was specific segregation laws relating to travel on steamboats, ferries, and other modes of transportation.[62] The South rationalized "that segregation actually protected the Negro's best interests," and "it was his duty therefore, to conform to it and thereby best serve the general welfare."[63] Southerners viewed discrimination as the basis of good government.

While the South adhered to segregation, they were divided as to whether the Negro should be educated. Traditionally, formal education of black slaves began before 1830, with many white men active in promoting schools for Negroes; however, this support ended with the increasing agitation of abolitionists. After the war, the South was invaded by various missionary and religious organizations as well as the Freedman's Bureau which established schools for blacks.[64] During this period of Reconstruction, some whites in

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[62]Woodward, op. cit., pp. 350-355.

[63]Gulon Griffis Johnson, "Southern Paternalism Toward Negroes After Emancipation," The Journal of Southern History, XXIII, 4 (1957), 484.

[64]Charles William Dabney, Universal Education in the South, I (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936), 437-445.

the South perceived a need to educate the Negro:

> Since the slaves had been freed, it was the duty of the strong white race to prepare them, if possible, for ultimate political participation through education. The debates on how this education was to be financed and what kind of education was best suited to the Negro were to be some of the most bitter which followed the Civil War.[65]

As far back as 1868 when the Mississippi Constitutional Convention met, once the participants realized that radical whites and some blacks in the Convention did not desire racially mixed classrooms, conservative opposition to free-school innovation declined. In fact, as long as public schools were segregated, some older citizens no longer regarded education for blacks as revolutionary.[66] Eventually the concept of educating the Negro became more and more acceptable to the South, and southerners began to take a greater interest in teaching former slaves.[67]

Advocating white supremacy during the 1880s, the

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[65] Johnson, op. cit., p. 485.

[66] William C. Harris, "The Reconstruction of the Commonwealth, 1865-1870," A History of Mississippi, I, ed. Richard Aubrey McLemore (Hattiesburg: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973), p. 563.

[67] Henry Allen Bullock, A History of Negro Education In the South from 1619 to the Present (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 42-75.

Democrats made the issue paramount in politics.[68] During the Mississippi Constitutional Convention of 1890, some participants expressed the belief that the most effective way to keep white supremacy would be to eliminate the Negro vote. Thus, they established voting requirements which included freedom from a criminal record, mental capacity, and the ability to read or comprehend the Constitution. Soon most states in the deep South drew up similar restrictions. Because Negro voters were thereby reduced in number before the presidential election of 1904, this act had political significance. Those who advocated such restrictions offered three basic reasons: First, ending the Negro vote would eliminate corrupt elections in the South. Second, whites could therefore decide freely on basic issues. Third, this would force blacks to see their place and thus race relations would improve.[69] In all probability, many reasoned that keeping the blacks uneducated was one means of limiting the Negro vote, and this was a simple means of maintaining white supremacy.

Other fears relating to the education of the Negro

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[68] Albert D. Kirwan, Revolt of the Rednecks, Mississippi Politics: 1876-1925 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1951), p. 26.

[69] Ibid., pp. 58-78; Woodward, op. cit., pp. 321-348.

emerged. For example, Southerners assumed that northern teachers coming into the South to teach blacks would plant the doctrine of social equality in the minds of the Negroes. While some were convinced that educating the Negro might result in interference from the federal government, others believed that education would make that race unfit for the role which the South had designated for them.[70] Even when the South began to accept the education of the Negro, many people did not believe that their schooling should be provided at public expense. However, tax money was used for this purpose and as the years passed the strain of taxes became so great that public officials began to find ways to eliminate or cut down the amount of money spent for Negro schools. At the close of the nineteenth century the development of schools for blacks began to slow down.[71]

One of the most outspoken opponents of Negro education was James K. Vardaman. When he campaigned for governor of Mississippi in 1899, Vardaman concluded that there were too many people to educate and not enough money to go around and advocated the division of funds on the basis of the amount of school funds paid by each race. For three decades

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[70] Bullock, op. cit., pp. 42-75.

[71] Ibid., pp. 51-87.

he campaigned using this theme.[72] Was he totally motivated by concern for the amount of money spent on education? One historian concludes: "Vardaman urged exclusion of the Negroes from the schools to make sure that they did not qualify for polls and as the only salvation for an impoverished school system."[73]

Because most of the Negroes lived in rural areas where their educational opportunities were limited, philanthropic foundations, church groups, and dedicated individuals made some attempts to remedy this problem.[74] Though both northern and southern educational leaders realized the need for educational opportunities for the Negro, the idea was still not acceptable to all white southerns. Thus, leading educators in the North and South joined together at the close of the nineteenth century to form the Conference for Education in the South.[75] Robert Curtis Ogden, a wealthy merchant-capitalist and churchman of New York City, was the chief organizer. At first the informal meetings of the group attracted little attention, but this changed in 1901

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[72]Kirwan, op. cit., pp. 144-148.

[73]Ibid., p. 310.

[74]Nannie Pitts McLemore, "The Progressive Era," op. cit., p. 37.

[75]Bullock, op. cit., pp. 89-94.

when delegates from all over the South met in Winston-Salem to plan a formal campaign for education in the South for blacks and whites.[76] Because of the social mores of the South, the Conference accepted the idea of separation of the races and worked within that idea.[77] However, after the Conference of 1901, some newspapers opposed the idea of northerners promoting education of blacks. Conference leaders explained these misunderstandings with assurances "that the active work was entirely in the hands of southern men and that the men of the North only asked the privilege of aiding them to induce the people to build their own schools."[78] The Conference for Education in the South became a powerful and influential force as explained by Bullock:

> Philanthropists consulted its boards before making contributions to Southern schools. Public school officials sought counsel from its agents on such matters as selecting teachers, building schools, or arranging curricula; and legislatures were even more greatly inclined to appropriate funds for educational purposes on the basis of its recommendations.[79]

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[76] Woodward, op. cit., pp. 401-402.

[77] Bullock, op. cit., pp. 89-94.

[78] Dabney, op. cit., II, pp. 46-48.

[79] Bullock, op. cit., p. 107.

Specific Occasion

The Seventh Annual Conference for Education in the South conducted its opening session on April 26, 1904, at the Jefferson Theatre in Birmingham, Alabama. The president, Mr. Robert Ogden, brought an excursion train consisting of a company of eighty-four from the North, but the company increased as the train traveled southward, stopping along the way at places including Winthrop Normal College in Rock Hill, South Carolina; Tuskegee Institute in Montgomery, Alabama; the Normal School at Troy, Alabama; and others. During these stops, receptions were held which provided opportunities for the group to meet residents of the communities.[80] Members of the Conference began arriving in Birmingham on Memorial Day.[81]

According to The Birmingham News, there was little formality during that first session, which officially began when the president, Robert Ogden, made a few opening remarks and then turned the meeting over to Colonel Bush. Bush advocated education for the masses and praised the South's efforts in that direction. After the Colonel's speech, Ogden delivered his message in which he cited the origin and

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[80] Dabney, II, op. cit., p. 278.

[81] The Birmingham News, April 26, 1904, p. 14.

aim of the Conference whose mission it was to promote education in the South. Reviewing the history of the movement, he then attempted to explain why taxes were needed to expand education. Upon the conclusion of his speech, Ogden introduced Galloway.[82] The Birmingham News reported the reaction of the audience at that point: "When Mr. Ogden presented Bishop Galloway, applause drowned the words of the introduction, and both of the gentlemen had to await patiently its subsidence."[83]

Audience

The local paper reported that the Jefferson Theatre was crowded for the first session:

> Those who are accustomed to estimate crowds state that the audience at the Jefferson Theatre last evening when the opening of the conference took place was the largest that has ever been present in the Jefferson Theatre this winter, and one of the largest that the building ever contained.[84]

The article added that there was almost no standing room in the theatre, for "downstairs and on the second floor the walls were lined while crowds of people were standing in the

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[82] The Birmingham News, April 27, 1904, pp. 1-3, 12.

[83] Ibid., p. 1.

[84] Ibid.

center aisles."[85] Those present included the superintendent of education of Baton Rouge, Louisiana; representatives of the New York Tribune; professors from such schools as Harvard, Wesleyan University, and Cornell; and Governor Fulluan Blanchard of Louisiana. In short, there were numerous college professors, representatives of newspapers, presidents of various colleges, politicians, and clergymen.[86] In addition there were possibly some blacks among the audience for the opening session as they were present at a later date during the Conference, evidenced by the remarks of one of the speakers, Thomas Higginson of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who referred to "those of that colored race when I see at a far distance in the upper gallery."[87] The Birmingham News described the conduct of the crowd in the following manner:

> The behavior of the assemblage, too, was admirable. The spirit of the affair was upon it. A bond was at once established between the platform and the level and tier on tier of humanity before it.[88]

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[85] Ibid.

[86] The Birmingham News, April 26, 1904, p. 14.

[87] Proceedings of the Conference for Education in the South, The Seventh Session (New York: Issued by the Committee on Publication, 1904), p. 151.

[88] The Birmingham News, April 27, 1904, p. 1.

Purpose

Requested to speak on the Negro's place in the South, Galloway had an opportunity to convey his ideas not only to the immediate audience, but also to others throughout the South who would read or hear of his speech through the press or word-of-mouth. Active in the movement which was gathering forces to promote education throughout the southern states, Galloway made a significant beginning to a campaign destined to reach Georgia in that same year and Mississippi the following year, 1905.[89]

Primarily, Galloway wanted to reinforce the attitudes of those present who believed in this cause. Though he was assured of a favorable hearing among the Conference members who supported educational opportunities for blacks, the bishop must have known that many who opposed the movement, including those who had supported Vardaman in Mississippi, would read or hear of his speech. Possibly, he hoped that his words might soften their opposition. However, in regard to his immediate audience, Galloway's address was intended to inspire among the listeners a greater dedication, to encourage, influence, and promote educational benefits for Negroes.

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[89]Woodward, op. cit., p. 404.

Theme

In his introductory remarks Galloway announced that his topic was the South and the Negro, later adding, "And we must insist that the Negro have equal opportunity with every American citizen to fulfill in himself the highest purpose of an all-wise Providence." The speaker did not specify exactly what these opportunities were until later in his speech when he declared that the Negro "must be guaranteed the equal protection of the law" and that "the right education of the Negro is at once a duty and a necessity."

Basic Premises

Acknowledging present and future problems in the South, Galloway contended that there was great unrest and discontentment among southern Negroes, which would bring industrial disaster if conditions did not change. Four other basic premises were presented as "some things that may be considered as definitely and finally settled": the bishop assured his listeners that there would never be any social mingling of the races; that they would continue to attend separate schools and churches; that political power would remain with the whites; and that Negroes would always be present in America. After fully explaining the situation facing the South, Galloway elaborated upon "some of the

duties we owe these people" which he designated as that of granting equal protection of the law and providing educational opportunities.

Lines of Argument

Depending upon the audience's knowledge of various injustices heaped upon the southern Negro, Galloway reminded his listeners of the lynchings and minimum educational offerings, asserting that blacks were discontent. The bishop linked that unrest to warnings of economic disaster if Negro workers were forced by these conditions to leave that region. However, according to Galloway, the South, not completely responsible for the situation, could share the blame with "misguided persons who came to the South after the war to be the political teachers and leaders of the Negroes" and thereby "complicated the difficult problem."

Apparently sensing fears among southerners that Negroes would become too assertive and gain political and social equality, the orator calmed their misgivings with specific assurances that such happenings would not occur. He reasoned that there would be no "social mingling of the races" because of "prejudice or pride;" separate churches and schools would be maintained because it was "desired alike by both races" and was "for the good of each;" political

power would remain with the whites for "intelligence and wealth will and should control the administration of governmental affairs;" and their deportation a physical impossibility," adding that the "white people are less anxious for them to go than the Negroes are to leave."

Having erased fears of Negro conflict in the South, Galloway turned to the main thrust of his speech, "the duties we owe these people," which he envisioned as equal protection of the law and educational opportunities. Reminding his listeners that a strong democracy was dependent upon fair decisions in courts of law, the orator asserted this as the reason for punishing guilt, regardless of race. In taking up his case for educational benefits for blacks, Galloway argued that education decreased criminality among that race, contrary to the contentions of opponents.

Organization

Galloway organized his speech according to the logical method of discussion as defined by Thonssen, Baird, and Braden:

> In the logical order the arrangement of materials is determined by the continuity of the reasoning process; materials are placed at those points where they serve as links in the uninterrupted sequence or chains of thoughts.[90]

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[90]Thonssen, Baird, and Braden, op. cit., p. 474.

Adding that logical method of organization can be found in all types of speeches--deliberative, forensic, and ceremonial, they also indicate that one form of the logical method of division is the problem-solving technique.[91]

Though the introduction served to somewhat heighten his ethos, Galloway was apparently more intent upon preparing his listeners for his message as he announced his topic and position regarding the Negro's role in the South. Then taking up the problem-solution plan of organization, he defined the problem to be the desire of blacks to leave the South and stressed the undesirable conditions that would occur as a result of their leaving. The bishop presented equal protection under the law and equal educational opportunities for the Negro as a solution, concluding by directing his message to the young people of the South. While citing southern youth to be responsible for the proper solution, he reasoned that abiding by "honest convictions" would result in "triumphant vindication of the future."

Forms of Support

Galloway's task of urging educational opportunities and legal protection for blacks afforded a challenge to his

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[91] Ibid., pp. 474-475.

oratorical skills as he sought support for the plight of the Negro without arousing fears of social and political equality. In doing so, the orator employed analogy, statistics, and quotations.

Analogy. Apparently fearing that the opposition's appeals to racial prejudice would stand in the way of opportunities for blacks, Galloway attempted to minimize the impact of such tactics. Using the term "street urchin," the orator drew a comparison between the individual who aroused fear by shouts of "Fire" with one who promoted fear by means of "social and political issues." Perhaps this analogy also served to stimulate some degree of anger or frustration toward those who employed such tactics as a means to further their own cause:

> It requires but little ability to excite the fears and inflame the prejudices of a people. Any street urchin can shout 'Fire!' and stampede an audience even where there is no danger. And if there be some occasion for alarm, the panic becomes wild and uncontrollable. Then it is that men who refuse calm counsel and wise suggestions. So it is with the social and political issue that may be used to play upon the fears of the masses.

Statistics. As the speaker's use of analogy was scant, so was his use of statistics. He relied upon this form of support in only two instances. During one portion of his address, Galloway acknowledged the assertion of a

"certain editor" that more money for Negro education would mean more crime. Refuting this claim and noting the court's tendency to favor people of influence, the bishop suggested that the editor's statistics were in error through lack of honesty or competency:

> A careful study of the exact figures will show that the proportion of Negro criminals from the illiterate class has been forty percent larger than from the class which has had school training. And when we consider further that it is naturally and notoriously easier to convict a poor Negro of any crime than a white man who has influential friends and well-paid counsel, the strength of the statement is irresistible and unanswerable.

Contending that education for blacks, especially for their leaders, was a means of reducing crime, Galloway specifically stated the amount of money necessary for such endeavors:

> Thirty thousand Negro public schools of the South, on which we have spent $125,000,000 since 1870 ($7,500,000 is expended yearly), must be supplied with competent teachers of that race.

Quotations. Frequently using quotations to urge educational opportunities for the blacks, Galloway was careful to select sources who reinforced his own sentiments. In most instances he quoted individuals well-known by the audience. Perhaps one of his most effective uses of such support was by citing L. Q. C. Lamar. Not only did the bishop demonstrate that Lamar was very much interested in educating the Negro, but in introducing the quotation, the bishop contended that

the state of Mississippi was in agreement:

> When a measure was pending in the Senate proposing national aid to education, Mississippi's distingulshed senator gave expression to matured views that commanded the applause of the entire State.

Continuing, he cited Lamar's assumption that the entire South was in agreement with this proposal:

> 'I say with entire confidence that this distrust is not deserved; that senators are mistaken as to the state of feeling in the South with reference to the education of the Negro. The people of the South find that the most precious interests of their society and civilization are bound up in the question of his education--of his elevation out of his present state of barbarism. I shall enter into no argument upon this subject. I intended to read some authorities on it, but my friend from South Carolina [Mr. Hampton] has anticipated me.'

Galloway had earlier remarked that the Negro would remain in America. He quoted a similar conclusion reached by Dr. J. L. M. Curry in a speech at the Constitutional Convention of Louisiana as he noted that "'the Negroes, unlike alien immigrants, are here not of their own choosing'" and that "'their presence'" was "'not to be changed in our day.'" In still another instance Galloway quoted Joel Chandler Harris. The orator prefaced his quotation with a complimentary phrase about the well-known source, referring to Harris as "the distingulshed author and political philosopher, whose interpretation of the Southern Negro has given him world-wide fame." Here Galloway cited Harris as proof

that the Negro was not evil by nature:

> 'The idle and criminal classes among them make a great show in the police court records, but right here in Atlanta the reputable and decent Negroes far outnumber those who are on the lists of the police as new or old offenders. I am bound to conclude, from what I know of the race elsewhere, that the Negro, not withstanding the late start he had made in civilization and enlightenment, is capable of making himself a useful member of the community in which he lives and moves, and that he is becoming more and more desirous of conforming to all the laws that have been enacted for the protection of society.'

To further emphasize the point, Galloway added the remarks of W. M. Cox whom he identified as one "prominent in the political councils of his State, for years a leading figure in our State Legislature and a scholar." Again the bishop noted that Cox's conclusion was identical to his own.

> 'When I consider all the circumstances of the case, the Negro's weakness, his utter lack of preparation for freedom and citizenship, and the multitudinous temptation to disorder and wrongdoing which have assailed him, the wonder to me is not that he has done so ill, but that he has done as well. No other race in the world would have born itself with so much patience, docility, and submissiveness. It is true that many grave crimes have been committed by Negroes, and these have sorely taxed the patience of the white people of the South. I do not blink at their enormity, and I know that they must be sternly repressed and terribly avenged. But I insist that the entire race is not chargeable with these exceptional crimes, and that the overwhelming majority of the race are peaceable, inoffensive, and submissive to whatever the superior race sees fit to put upon them. Their crimes are not the fruit of the little learning their schools afford them. They are the results of brutish instincts and propensities which they have not been taught to regulate and restrain.'

Ethical Appeals

Probably realizing that there would be opposition to his call for equal protection under the law and educational opportunities for the Negro, Galloway made attempts to heighten his ethos by means of elevating his character, sagacity and good will.

Character. In explaining character as an element of ethical appeal, Thonssen, Baird, and Braden note that,

> In general, a speaker focuses attention upon the probity of his character if he (1) associates either himself or his message with what is virtuous and elevated; (2) bestows with propriety, tempered praise upon himself, his client, and his cause; (3) links the opponent or the opponents' cause with what is virtuous; (4) removes or minimizes unfavorable impressions of himself or his cause previously established by his opponent; (5) relies upon authority derived from his personal experience; and (6) creates the impression of being completely sincere in his undertaking.[92]

With his first statement, Galloway immediately sought to enhance his ethos by elevating his listeners' concept of his character, for here the bishop reminded his audience that he had been requested to speak on that particular topic, implying that he was considered an expert on the subject: "With the honored invitation to accept a place on the program of this great convention came also the request that I should speak on 'The South and the Negro.'" He also heightened his

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[92] Ibid., pp. 458-459.

ethos by adding that he was asked to speak on this topic because, "I live in the South and am a friend to the Negro." In this manner the orator indicated his right to discuss the problems of the Negro; Galloway lived where the problem existed. His phrase, "a friend to the Negro," suggested that he was one who was able to communicate successfully and frequently with that race. Galloway further pointed out his quallfications to speak on the subject:

> Some acquaintance with this section, and its citizenship I ought to have gained from the life long residence and eager observation and unwavering devotion. From my birth to this good hour I have lived in Mississippi, the most intensely Southern of all Southern States, and where, because of their immense numbers, the so-called 'problem' of the Negroes is most acute.

In another attempt to elevate his character, the bishop stated, "And I appear not as the partisan of an idea, but as an ambassador of the truth and lover of my country." Perhaps fearing that some of his listeners might tend to view him as somewhat radical in his approach to the race problem, he deemphasized any possible interpretation of his role to be that of an advocate. Instead, Galloway stressed that he was appearing as one who represented truth and loved country.

Sagacity. According to Thonssen, Baird, and Braden, sagacity, another element of ethos, is established if the speaker displays common sense, tact and moderation, good

taste, "a broad familiarity with the interest of the day," and intellectual integrity and wisdom.[93] Exhibiting a sense of good taste by acknowledging that he would make no predictions, Galloway admitted that he did not know what the future would hold for the Negro:

> I would not presume to speak dogmatically as to the mind of God with reference to the future status of the Negro. Into that infinite and holy realm I have neither capacity nor temerity to enter. On what specific lines the race will move through the coming centuries I dare not attempt to prophesy.

As the speaker sought to explain to his listeners how he would approach the topic, he made clear his intentions of looking at the present, rather than the past, and by doing so, he implied that he was familiar enough with the problems and interests of the present to take that approach in the remainder of the speech: "I shall not review ancient history, but I shall consider present conditions."

Moving toward his concluding remarks, the bishop acknowledged that "Other phases of this problem of the nation I have not time to consider. Already I have trespassed too long upon your patience." Perhaps assuming that he had discussed the topic as fully as the occasion and the audience would allow, Galloway followed the route of tact and moderation

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[93] Ibid., p. 459.

by making sure he did not extend his discussion beyond the limits of the occasion and the audience.

Good Will. Proceeding with what Thonssen, Baird, and Braden term "candor and straightforwardness," Galloway stated his intention to "speak tonight with perfect candor, if not with approved wisdom."[94] He seemed intent upon impressing his audience with his desire to be straightforward, thereby establishing good will toward his listeners.

Emotional Appeals

Making frequent use of emotional appeals in his attempt to encourage his listeners to retain their interest in the plight of the Negro, the orator relied upon appeals to fear, self respect, patriotism, reputation, power, reverence to a deity, and imitation.

Fear. Elaborating upon the injustices responsible for unrest among southern blacks, Galloway warned of the consequences if the inequities continued: "We need not close our eyes to the inevitable. We are soon to face industrial disaster unless conditions are radically changed." Specifically explaining how this would affect the financial security

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[94] Ibid.

of individuals, he added, "Our cotton lands will lie fallow and our fertile fields cease to yield their valuable staples. Already the scarcity of labor is the despair of large landowners." Again, depending upon another threat to the pocketbook which would likely influence anyone who had any degree of material wealth, the speaker supported his idea that the Negro should be given equal protection of the law:

> If confidence in decisions of Courts is destroyed, there is no protection for life and property. We have reason for real alarm at the phenomenal growth of the spirit of lawlessness and it is not confined to any section of our great country.

Galloway employed another fear appeal to support his contention that the Negro should be provided with equal opportunity in education. In this case, the bishop did not suggest the loss of material goods; instead, he indicated that crime and poverty would increase to the extent that the entire government would collapse if the Negro was not educated:

> Suppose we close the thirty thousand Negro schools of the South. What would be the result? Let Dr. Curry tell us: 'ignorance more dense; pauperism more general and severe; crime, superstitution, and immorality rampant.' We would not survive such a policy. The boasted strength of our governmental institutions could not endure the strain.
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Self Respect. Obviously sensing the South's need to salvage its self image while being forced to acknowledge injustices toward blacks, Galloway offered some solace as

he reasoned that the South was not totally responsible for racial problems:

> Mistakes that have become tragedy were made by some misguided persons who came to the South after the war to be the political teachers and leaders of the Negroes. Representing themselves as the only friends of the recently emancipated race, they made denunciation of former slave owners an apology for their presence and a part of the Negroes' education. That policy only complicated the difficult problem. It poisoned the spirit of one race and aroused the fierce antagonism of the other.

In addition, while lamenting the existence of mob violence, he reminded his listeners that not all southerners conducted themselves in this manner by noting that "we have good people in our State, loving justice, hating wrong and despising unfairness. They are ready to uphold the majesty of the law when demands are made upon them."

Another appeal to self respect was Galloway's attempt to promote justice for blacks by suggesting that helping that race was a worthy endeavor, but to do otherwise was abominable. Creating an unattractive description of whites who did not agree with equal protection of the law, he explained that "to do less would forfeit plighted faith," suggesting a person who broke bonds or pledges.

Reputation. As Galloway had appealed to the listeners' self image, likewise he considered the power of outside opinion and used the desire for a worthy reputation as a

means for urging an end to injustice toward blacks. In pleading that they be "just," he added, "I am jealous for my people, that they be not open to the charge of injustice." Galloway pleaded for educational benefits for the Negro by reminding them that history would take notice of their endeavors:

> And in all the coming years that which will be spoken of most to the honor of the South was that out of the wreck and ruin of war, with little left but the charred and searred remains of fire and tempest, she gave with an almost lavish hand to the education of the Negroes. Every line on that page of her brilliant history will be glorious with the unstinted praise of the civilized world.

Power. In pleading his cause on behalf of blacks, Galloway assured southern whites of continued political control; the whites would remain the superior race. Just as Booker T. Washington had stated in his "Atlanta Exposition Address" in 1895 that "in all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers," Galloway likewise promised separate schools and churches for both races.[95]

Reverence to Deity. While the bishop did not quote the Bible, various phrases depended upon his listeners' reverence to God as Galloway linked his cause with Christian

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[95] A. Craig Baird, American Public Addresses, 1740-1952 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956), pp. 189-192.

principles. For example, his statement, "We must keep our covenants," employed a Biblical term, "Covenants," far more impressive than such words as "pledge," or "commitment." By speaking of a "Heaven-approved solution to this mighty problem" and by describing the future of the Negro as an "infinite and holy realm," Galloway suggested God's concern over the matter. The Bishop also advocated that the South's dealings with blacks be "in the spirit and according to the ethics of the Man of Galilee." Perhaps his strongest use of reverence to a deity was in his contention that to deny Negroes educational opportunities was "un-Christian."

Imitation. By appealing to the motive of imitation, Galloway offered his case as a challenge only for those who possessed extraordinary qualities. Signifying worthy attributes necessary to the task, the bishop thereby encouraged his listeners to support the efforts on behalf of blacks. In fact, very early in his address, the speaker drew the line between supporters and opponents:

> There is no question for small politicians, but for broad, patriotic statesmen. It is not for nonresident theorists, but for practical publicists; not for academic sentimentalists, but clear-visioned humanitarians. On a subject of such vital concern to the State and nation passionate declamation and partisan denunciation are to be deplored.

He not only described supporters in worthy terms, but he also

issued the cry that some "patriot may rise with the prescience of a statesman and the vision of a prophet" to "point out the path of national duty." Obviously, the listeners would seek to identify with such a person. Not overlooking the influence of Confederate veterans, Galloway condemned those who were guilty of mob violence and contrasted such individuals with "our best citizens" who were "becoming alarmed" over such crimes. Then describing a group of "Confederate veterans in Mississippi" as "heroic men who feared not the wild shock of battle in contending for what they believed to be right," Galloway noted that these heroes had "passed some vigorous resolutions against this spirit of lawlessness." In this manner, the bishop linked his purpose with individuals of praise-worthy qualities, hopefully to be imitated by his audience.

Other Distinctive Elements

In an effort to appeal to the South, Galloway made use of the New South myth and the Lost Cause myth.

New South Myth. Seeking to inspire his listeners to take up the cause of the Negro, the bishop invoked the South's self image of an intense will to survive in spite of overwhelming odds and directed that spirit toward urging a responsibility for the Negro. He portrayed the New South

as an area sympathetic to the plight of the black man in spite of that region's post war problems. Lest this sense of responsibility be not persuasive enough, the speaker promised that the future would praise the South for its endeavors:

> And in all the coming years that which will be spoken of most to the honor of the South was that, out of the wreck and ruin of war, with little left but the charred and scarred remains of fire and tempest, she gave with an almost lavish hand to the education of the Negroes. Every line on that page of her brilliant history will be glorious with the unstinted praise of the civilized world.

At the same time the orator emphasized that social and political equality of the races was not within his concept of the New South; he saw the role of the Negro as inferior to the whites. While regarding whites as superior, Galloway believed that the Negroes must produce their own leaders, with education for the blacks being the key. By clarifying the question of equality, the orator sought to strike down fears among the whites:

> The old cry that 'white supremacy' may be imperiled is a travesty on Anglo-Saxon chivalry. With every executive, judicial, and legislative office of the State in the hands of white people and with suffrage qualifications that have practically eliminated the Negro from political affairs, the old slogan is the emptiest pretense of demagogues.

Lost Cause Myth. To arouse the emotions of his audience regarding mob violence, the speaker referred to the

Confederate veterans in Mississippi who had stated their opposition to crimes against blacks. Describing the veterans as "composed of heroic men who feared not the wild shock of battle in contending for what they believed to be right," Galloway must have hoped that the words would revive the spirit of knighthood and that the audience would connect the concept of justice for all, even for the blacks, with the chivalrous aura of the Lost Cause.

Assessment

In his address "The South and the Negro" Galloway issued a plea for equal protection and opportunities for the Negro. Arranging his remarks in problem-solution order, the bishop spoke to an audience consisting of churchmen, educators, news reporters, and others. Though he addressed a special interest group which generally supported his cause, the speaker must have guessed that some opposition existed. His chief problem was how to urge legal and educational rights for blacks while at the same time making clear to all that he did not urge social and political equality. Taking on this challenge, Galloway depended upon supporting material consisting of analogy, statistics, quotations, and illustrations; ethical appeals; emotional appeals; and southern myths, thereby revealing himself as a man who knew

and understood the mind of the South.

Galloway employed several effective strategies. One tactic was to present his proposal in such a manner that the listeners could only conclude that there was little choice in the matter. He couched his reasoning in simple terms: Blacks are leaving the South because they are unhappy over unfair treatment. If they leave us, then who will till our land? Not only did the bishop present the Negro as a necessary part of the South's economy, but he also insisted that lack of education among members of that race would only serve to increase crime and immorality, weakening the nation.

As another strategy, Galloway aligned his cause with worthy ideals while presenting the opposition as evil. This he accomplished in three ways. First, by labeling supporters as "statesmen" and "clear-visioned humanists" and the opponents as "demagogues," he suggested that his proposal was patriotic. Second, he linked his cause with the will of God, alluding to a "prophet" who could hand down a "Heaven-approved solution" and pleading for the South to keep "our covenants." Third, Galloway supported his proposals by citing prominent southerners such as L. Q. C. Lamar, W. M. Cox of Mississippi, and the Confederate veterans.

Perhaps the most effective strategy was his attempt

to strike down fears of southerners in regard to equality of the races. In general, Galloway reminded his listeners that suffrage qualifications had almost eliminated the Negro vote and assured the South that political power would remain in the hands of whites. To quell the fears of those who envisioned social equality as the result of opportunities for blacks, the bishop explained that there would be no mingling of the races in the schools or churches. He also refuted the argument that education increased criminality of the Negro. While most of his appeals were in terms of the present, the bishop did not overlook the desire of the people to be viewed in a worthy light by future generations and promised that for those who took up the cause the "coming years will vindicate your manly independence and uncorrupted patriotism." In short, attempting to answer every possible objection while insisting that his proposition was virtuous, patriotic, and the will of God, Galloway left the audience with no basis for fear or disagreement.

While Galloway must be admired for his brilliance of strategy and his bravery in taking up the unpopular cause of the Negro, the bishop was not alone in his positions. As evidenced by the main thrust of the Conferences and by the remarks of the other speakers that followed Galloway, others shared his views. For example, among those who advocated

the same or similar measures during that Conference were Dr. Hollis Burke Frisell, principal of Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia; Isaac W. Hill of Alabama; S. A. Mynders of Tennessee; H. L. Whitfield, superintendent of Education for Mississippi; Edwin A. Alderman, president of Tulane University; Bishop William Lawrence of Massachusetts; and S. C. Mitchell, a professor in Richmond College in Richmond, Virginia.[96] Yet, the fact remains that Galloway did not live among those proponents but returned home to Mississippi in the midst of Governor Vardaman's administration. Not only was Galloway daring enough to be the first to speak his mind at the Conference, but perhaps more importantly, he directed broad attention to the existing problem of Vardaman's rule in Mississippi, an opportunity to apply political pressure that had not been afforded to him on a similar scale during his frequent attacks against such measures in his home state.

While Galloway's speech dramatized and impressed upon the participants of the Conference the danger of Vardamanism, which, as stated by S. C.Mitchell in his speech before the group, could "make its appearance in each of the other southern states," at least one of the Conference

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[96] Proceedings of the Conference for Education in the South, The Seventh Session, op. cit., pp. 45-47, 55, 68, 75, 122, 160-161.

speakers, Sydney J. Bowie, a member of Congress from the Fourth Congressional District of Alabama, disagreed by commenting, "The South has done its duty to the Negro race."[97]

Galloway received many favorable responses from the public as acknowledged in a letter to Joseph Bingham:

> Letters of communication are pouring in upon me from all over the State and nation. Some from [illegible] have touched me very deeply. I may make a short statement today in expression of appreciation.[98]

Even as late as November in that same year of 1904, Galloway still receiving compliments on his speech, wrote to Bingham:

> A letter from Hon. Seth [illegible] of New York most generously commending my Birmingham address has been received. Mrs. Ogden has invited me to a dinner in New York this winter and to speak on [same or some] subject. So you see, I am not without friends up there, as well as at home.[99]

Of the immediate response to the speech, The Birmingham News reported the following:

> His opening remarks were freely applauded, but when he reached that portion of his address in which he said that the Negroes of his state were in a condition of unrest and proceeded to give the cause, therefor, the silence became profound, almost painful, while there was a tense expectancy in every

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[97] Ibid., pp. 136, 152.

[98] Joseph Reid Bingham Papers (Department of Special Collections, Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, May 10, 1904, microfilm copy).

[99] Bingham Papers (November 2, 1904, microfilm copy).

> face in the semi-circle on the platform. Undaunted by silence the Bishop proceeded.[100]

That same article later added,

> Rich was his reward when he had ended, and in its fullness and fearlessness lay in perspective before his audience. Then there followed what was really an ovation in which the platform and the house vied with each other.[101]

However, in his biography on Galloway, Candler acknowledged that there was some opposition to the speech but added that it was favorably received throughout most of the nation. Galloway was aware of that element of disagreement to his remarks but was seemingly determined to be undisturbed by it as revealed in a letter he wrote to Bingham:

> Tonight I learn from Tuskegee and the commencement of Booker Washington's school--another mental offence--our Governor [illegible] says that I am a greater traitor to the South than Benedict Arnold was to the Colonies. If it be treason to preach the gospel to the Negroes, then I am a traitor and not ashamed of it.[102]

Thus Charles Galloway took his stand to support the Negro.

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[100] The Birmingham News, April 27, 1904, p. 1.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Bingham Papers (May 20, 1904, microfilm copy).

GALLOWAY'S COMMENCEMENT SPEECH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

Though in the earlier years of his ministry Galloway had opposed Jefferson Davis on the issue of prohibition, the bishop heaped praise upon the deceased southern leader at the commencement exercises at the University of Mississippi on June 3, 1908, when he delivered "The Life and Times of Jefferson Davis." While this speech, as much as his "Address at the Dedication of the New State Capitol of Mississippi," reveals Galloway as a spokesman for the South, the primary significance of his discourse on Davis lies in its revelation of the bishop as an apologist. Galloway asserted that neither Davis nor the South should be blamed for the Civil War nor be held responsible for alleged injustices toward Union prisoners.

General Background

After the Civil War southerners suffered from a prevailing sense of inferiority and a need to justify their position.[103] Even while Henry Grady and other New South spokesmen offered a sense of direction for their region, memories of the old order lingered, resulting in the 1880s in the emergence of the New South creed alongside the myth of

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[103]Woodward, op. cit., p. 157.

the Old South. Spokesmen for the new order utilized the romanticized image of bygone days to promote their cause.[104] Describing the New South creed, Clark explained that it encompassed a "nostalgia for the Old South, an apologia for slavery, a melancholia for the Lost Cause, a promised return to prosperity, a belief in the South's own commitment to racial justice, and an unswerving devotion to the Union of the Founding Fathers."[105] Out of this tendency to look back came images of southern aristocracy and the emergence of the Lost Cause as a prevailing theme, whose importance was demonstrated by the organization of the United Confederate Veterans in 1889 and the United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1895.[106]

For more than thirty years after the South's defeat the region continued to revere its military leaders and their 'advice was taken not only on political, but also on social, educational, and even religious matters."[107] Even

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[104]Gaston, op. cit., pp. 167-172.

[105]E. Culpepper Clark, "Henry Grady's New South: A Rebuttal from Charleston," The Southern Speech Communication Journal, XLI, 4 (1976), 347.

[106]Woodward, op. cit., pp. 142-157.

[107]Richard M. Weaver, The Southern Tradition at Bay: A History of Post-Bellum Thought (New Rochelle, New York: Arlington House, 1968), p. 177.

after a humiliating defeat and years of Reconstruction southerners revealed no inclination to turn against their leaders.[108] One exception was Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy, who faced criticism from the South because he failed to attack Washington after Bull Run and trusted poor advisers. However, by 1867 tempers cooled and charges against Davis were forgotten. Later Davis attempted to defend his own policies as well as the South's cause by writing his apologia, "The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," published in 1881. Other apologists, including Albert Taylor Bledsoe, Edward Albert Pollard, and Alexander H. Stephens, blamed the war on men whom they regarded as northern fanatics who had initiated the war because they refused to accept the southern interpretation of the Constitution and that region's contention that slavery and secession were justified.[109] When Galloway delivered his address eulogizing Davis and the fallen Confederacy in an effort to justify the South's position, he too joined the southern apologists.

Specific Occasion

By 1908 Galloway had reached the zenith of his oratorical career. Not content to rest on his reputation, the

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[108] Ibid., p. 116.

[109] Ibid., pp. 114-130.

bishop continued carefully to prepare his speeches.[110] Planning his commencement day address as early as April, Galloway took a confident view of his labors as expressed in a letter to Joseph Bingham: "I really believe it is about the best piece of work of this kind I have done."[111] However, the bishop apparently later had second thoughts about the quality of his address, for in another letter to Bingham he wrote that, "I shall go to Oxford Monday afternoon and speak my little piece on Wednesday. My contribution is not first class, but I would like to render this service."[112]

On May 27, 1908, the Lafayette County Press in Oxford, Mississippi, announced the forthcoming event and acknowledged the significance of the date:

> The most important feature of the program, and the one around which most interest centers is the annual address to be delivered by Bishop Galloway, the distinguished churchman and orator. As commencement day will be June 3rd, which is also the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Jefferson Davis, it is peculiarly appropriate that Bishop Galloway has selected as the subject of his address, 'The Life and Character of the President of the Confederacy.[113]

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[110] Duren, op. cit., p. 70.

[111] Bingham Papers (April 25, 1908, microfilm copy).

[112] Bingham Papers (May 29, 1908, microfilm copy).

[113] Lafayette County Press [Mississippi], May 27, 1908, p. 1.

While Jefferson Davis had died in 1889, on May 28, 1908, just a few days before Galloway was to deliver his speech, Stephen Dill Lee, another well known Confederate soldier, passed on. A soldier, an educator, and a senator in the Mississippi Legislature, at the time of his death Lee was the Commander-in-Chief of the United Confederate Veterans.[114] The announcement of his death appeared in the Lafayette County Press on June 3, 1908, the day of Galloway's address, perhaps symbolizing that living memorials to the Confederacy were truly disappearing.[115]

The schedule for commencement week was a busy one, beginning on Sunday, May 31, with the commencement sermon delivered by Reverend George McDaniel of Richmond, Virginia. On Monday, June 1, the members of the sophomore class sponsored a declamation contest, and on Tuesday, June 2, the senior orations were held. The following day, Wednesday, June 3, Galloway presented his address at 11:00 A.M.[116]

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[114] Dumas Malone (ed.), Dictionary of American Biography, VI (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), pp. 130-131.

[115] Lafayette County Press [Mississippi], June 3, 1908 (page number illegible).

[116] Lafayette County Press [Mississippi], May 27, 1908, p. 1.

Audience

Considering the nature of the event, the audience probably consisted of faculty, college administrators and officials, students, and parents. In addition, other dignitaries were present as described by the Daily Clarion Ledger the day following the address:

> A magnificent audience, composed of prominent men and women from every section of the State greeted Charles B. Galloway of Jackson at the University chapel today, it having been heralded abroad that he was to deliver the annual address and that his theme would be Jefferson Davis.[117]

Also, Galloway commented on the audience in a letter to Bingham: "I gave my lecture on Jefferson Davis to a great audience and was introduced by an Ex-Congressman, and a one-armed Federal soldier."[118]

Purpose

In stating his purpose, Galloway expressed his intent to avoid "extravagant or indiscriminate eulogy, but, if possible, to give a judicial estimate of a great man." Being more specific, the speaker added:

Let us, on his anniversary day, learn some patriotic

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[117] Daily Clarion Ledger [Jackson, Mississippi], June 4, 1908, (page number illegible).

[118] Bingham Papers (August 8, 1908, microfilm copy).

> lessons from the life history of this great Mississippian, replight our faith to the unalterable principles of constitutional liberty to which he was passionately devoted, and renew our fealty to the flag of our reunited country, which he never ceased to love.

Though Galloway expressed his desire to offer a "judicial estimate" of Davis, he did not succeed in presenting an unbiased view, if indeed he intended to do so; instead, the orator presented an interpretation of Davis which emphasized only his good qualities. Galloway molded Davis, an Old South figure who had headed the Confederacy, into a symbol of the South, thus enabling the bishop to project a redeeming picture of that region's role in the Civil War. Stressing that neither the South nor Davis had desired secession, Galloway inferred that both were therefore loyal to the national flag. At the same time, because the occasion and the significance of the date called for words of inspiration, the orator urged his listeners to emulate the patriotism of Davis and thereby "renew our fealty to the flag of our reunited country."

Theme

In stating the theme of his address, Galloway explained his choice of subject:

> And as this commencement day chances to be the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Jefferson Davis, the most illustrious citizen whose name ever adorned and enriched the annals of Mississippi, I have

> had the temerity to select his 'Life and Times' as the theme of this hour's discussion.

Galloway's real theme, in fact, was that Davis, a great man, was not responsible for the Civil War and will always be held in high regard.

Major Premises

Relating the events in the life of Davis, Galloway contended that he exhibited potential for leadership. In recounting the Confederate President's role in the war, Galloway argued that Davis was not responsible for the war or for secession and that his conduct during that period was unquestionable. Alluding to the personal characteristics of Davis, Galloway presented a man who was virtuous, competent, and dedicated to duty. Because southern tempers had long since cooled regarding Davis' conduct during the conflict between the states, these premises were readily acceptable to the audience especially in view of Davis as a symbol for the South. Using Davis to represent the South, Galloway attributed the qualities of worthiness, competency, and innocence both to the man and to the region.

Lines of Argument

In order to defend more effectively Davis, Galloway's first task was to establish a high level of credibility for the southern leader. Retelling the significant and

flattering aspects of Davis' life from boyhood to early adulthood, the orator portrayed a southern knight who had earned his position of leadership through skill and worthy deeds as well as by his lifestyle as a "cultured Southern gentleman" living on the plantation like other aristocrats of that region and time.

Though Galloway insisted that "the overwhelming weight of argument" was on the side of Davis, he reminded his listeners that Davis never urged the South to secede. As proof, the bishop detailed the agony Davis experienced during the dark days before the inevitable war. The southerner was portrayed as a man who had no control over his own destiny, but was victimized by the actions of others (the North). Galloway argued this point by citing the North as the first region which ever threatened to secede and by arguing that slavery, recognized by the Constitution, was promoted in the North as well as in the South. By contending that the North began to infringe upon the rights of southern states and that the "South had little occasion to hope for aggression to cease and conditions to improve," Galloway suggested that the South had no choice but to leave the Union "for their own better protection and security."

According to Galloway, "Mr. Davis was a great president." Answering the accusation regarding the leader's

treatment of war prisoners, the bishop reasoned that "more Confederates than Federals died in prisons."

While Galloway had alluded to Davis' great deeds and leadership abilities before the war, later in his address the bishop detailed more of those extraordinary skills such as his talent at oratory. However, at this point the bishop chose to heighten Davis' character by extolling the leader's nobility, sense of moral responsibility, and Christian faith.

Organization

In arranging the main points in the body of his address, Galloway combined the historical and the topical order. While the first through third major points in the body of the discourse presented Davis' early life, his trials during the war, and his final days, the fourth major point, which catalogued these personal qualities possessed by Davis, disrupted the historical order.

In his introductory remarks, Galloway, in part, attempted to establish his ethos, but his major goal was to prepare the audience to listen intelligently. In his concluding comments Galloway emphasized Davis' adherence to his convictions by noting that he "went down to his grave without laying any sacrifice of repentance upon the altar of his

conscience or his country." Reasoning that because Davis refused to apologize for his stand, he would always be revered, Galloway projected a similar future status for the South. The bishop therefore concluded, in effect, that the South, proud even in defeat, would also be forever revered, because that region had stood its ground upon an issue in which it believed.

Forms of Support

Seeking to justify the actions of Davis and the South, Galloway depended upon supporting materials consisting of analogies, examples, statistics, and quotations.

Analogies. During his introductory remarks Galloway employed analogies to present Davis as a man to be held in high esteem. Selecting the most ideal individual with whom to compare Davis, Christ, the orator demonstrated the virtues of the Confederate leader:

> A citizen whose moral and religious ideals were the most exalted, and whose daily conduct was sought to be modeled after the Man of Galilee, and whose life has in it as little to explain or apologize for as any leader in American politics, can never be caricatured as a monster or condemned as a traitor and have anybody really believe it.

Then drawing upon an event in history, Galloway offered a second analogy when he related the story of Oliver Cromwell of England, once jeered by his countrymen, but now recognized

as a national hero and honored by a statue placed at Westminister Hall. Comparing Davis to Cromwell, the bishop predicted that Jefferson Davis too would someday be highly revered throughout the nation:

> After forty years since the Civil War the nation's estimate of Jefferson Davis, the Oliver Cromwell of our constitutional crisis has almost entirely changed and points to the not far-off day when no place in our Federal Capital will be too conspicuous for his heroic statue.

Lauding Davis in one breath, Galloway urged national unity in the next. Articulating his hope for an end to sectional differences, the bishop suggested the potential dangers of a negative attitude through another analogy:

> I have read of a peculiar notion entertained by the ancient Norsemen. They supposed that, besides the soul of the dead, a ghost survived haunting for a while the scenes of his earthly labors. Though at first vivid and lifelike, it slowly waned and faded until at length it vanished, leaving behind no trace or memory of its spectral presence. I am glad that ghosts of old sectional issues are vanishing and soon will cease to haunt and mock the fears of the most anxious and nervous of American patriots.

Examples. Galloway used examples, ranging from specific events to individuals, to place blame upon the North and praise upon Davis. Asserting that the concept of secession did not originate with the South, Galloway first posed a question: "It may be interesting in this connection to inquire when the exercise of a State's right to secede had its first

and most threatening assertion." The orator then answered by citing specific examples from history:

> And it is historic truth to state that the first threat to exercise this right, universally recognized in the early days of the republic, was not heard in the South. 'It first sprang up in the North.' Not only so, but from 1795 to 1815 and again in 1845 there was an influential party in New England who favored and threatened the formation of a Northern Confederacy.

Galloway then mentioned Roger Griswold, Joseph Story, and Joseph Quincy as Congressmen who supported such activities. Asserting that the North was responsible for events which brought on the war, Galloway offered examples of sectional agitation such as the Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court and John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry. However, the bishop also admitted that "the South was equally intolerant," mentioning that some southern parents were condemned for patronizing northern colleges, that there were a few southerners who insisted upon the use of textbooks which were produced in the South rather than in the North, and that others advocated "nonintercourse in business" with the North.

Utilizing examples, Galloway listed the many praiseworthy characteristics of Davis. Describing Davis' gift of oratory, the bishop mentioned his powerful debate with Seargent Prentiss and the admiration of Stephen A. Douglas for Davis' ability at speaking. Emphasizing the leader's strong religious faith, Galloway referred to Davis' avowed

dependence upon the scriptures and prayer while being held in a Federal prison after the war. In another instance, the bishop cited specific individuals to support his point that while in the United States Senate, Davis was in the company of many of the nation's most respected statesmen. By offering such an impressive list, the bishop suggested greatness by association:

> When Jefferson Davis entered the United States Senate the glory of that upper chamber was at its height. Possibly never at one time had so many illustrious men sat in the highest council of the nation. There were giants in those days. There sat Calhoun, of South Carolina; Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts; Henry Clay, of Kentucky; Thomas Benton, of Missouri; Louis Cass, of Michigan; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio; Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, and other men of lesser fame.

Statistics. Employing statistics only in an attempt to refute the assertion that Davis had failed to feed captured Union soldiers, the orator pointed out that "On the contrary, goaded doubtless by false reports from the South the United States War Department on April 20, 1864, reduced by twenty percent the rations issued to Confederate prisoners." Adding more statistical information from Senator Daniel, Galloway gave the impression of one who was well armed with specific facts to counter such accusations:

> 'With sixty thousand more Federal prisoners in the South,' said Senator Daniel, 'than there were Confederate prisoners in the North, four thousand more

Confederates than Federals died in prisons.'

Quotations. Galloway's address abounded with quotations which were designed to justify the actions of the South and Davis. Strongly arguing that the South's views were in accordance with the Constitution, Galloway supported his assertion by quoting John C. Calhoun, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Charles Francis Adams. By describing Calhoun as "the greatest logician and political philosopher in the nation," Galloway added status to his argument and quoted the statesman as follows:

> 'In that character they formed the Old Confederation and when it was proposed to supersede the articles of the Confederation by the present Constitution, they met in convention as States, acted and voted as States, and the Constitution, when formed was submitted for ratification to the people of the several States. It was ratified by them as States, each State for itself; each, by its ratification, binding its own citizens; the parts thus separately binding themselves, and not of the whole the parts; and it is declared in the preamble of the Constitution to be ordained by the people of the United States, and in the Articles of Ratification, when ratified, to be binding between the States so ratifying. The conclusion is inevitable that the Constitution is the work of the people of the States, considered as separate and independent political communities; that they are its authors--their power created it, their voice clothed it with authority; that the government formed is in reality their agent, and that the union of which the Constitution is the bond is a union of States and not of individuals.'

Not depending entirely upon the comments of one southerner to illustrate his contention, Galloway added that others outside

of the South were in agreement. The bishop cited as an example Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts. Again heightening the status of his authority by mentioning that Lodge was an "accomplished scholar and distinguished senator," the bishop quoted the senator:

> 'When the Constitution was adopted by the votes of the States at Philadelphia and accepted by the votes of the States in popular conventions, it is safe to say that there was not a man in the country, from Washington and Hamilton on the one side to George Clinton and George Mason on the other, who regarded the new system as anything but an experiment entered upon by the States, and from which each and every State had the right peacefully to withdraw--a right that was very likely to be exercised.'

Seeking additional support, Galloway also quoted Charles Francis Adams.

As the bishop attempted to redeem the South's stand regarding slavery by suggesting that the North was also responsible for this activity, he cited Daniel Webster, speaking at Capon Springs, Virginia, in 1851. Utilizing the very words of a northerner the bishop thus offered an effective retort:

> 'I have not hesitated to say, and I repeat, that if the Northern States refuse, wilfully and deliberately to carry into effect that part of the Constitution which respects the restoration of fugitive slaves and Congress provides no remedy, the South would no longer be bound to observe the compact. A bargain cannot be broken on one side and still bind the other side. I say to you gentlemen in Virginia, as I said on the shores of Lake Erie and in the city of Boston, as I

> may say again, that you of the South have as much right to receive your fugitive slaves as the North has to any of its rights and privileges of navigation and commerce.'

Clearly viewing the North as responsible for forcing the South into the war, Galloway remarked that "Northern leaders had determined no longer to uphold the Constitution and give to the South what she had considered her rights and equality in the Union." Repeating the "extreme and inflamed utterances" of Horace Greeley, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and the New York Tribune, Galloway offered a summation:

> With such utterances and applauding echoes of a party flushed with political victory ringing in their ears, the people of the South had little occasion to hope for aggressions to cease and conditions to improve.

Seeking to impress upon his listeners the reluctance of Davis to enter the war, Galloway quoted an emotional letter written by the future President of the Confederacy to ex-President Franklin Pierce thus magnifying the overwhelming sense of concern expressed by Davis:

> 'I have often and sadly turned my thoughts to you during the troublous times through which we are now passing and now I come to the hard task of announcing to you that the hour is at hand which closes my connection with the United States, for the independence and union of which my father bled and in the service of which I have sought to emulate the examples he set for my guidance.'

Ethical Appeals

Galloway made few attempts to heighten his ethos, making only a limited effort to enhance his character, good will, and sagacity. Since clearly Galloway's intent was to glorify Davis rather than himself, the bishop heightened his image primarily for the sake of obtaining full attention to his message. This he accomplished by suggesting that on this important occasion, he was to present an unbiased and well researched discourse.

Character. During his introductory remarks, the speaker attempted to associate his message with what is "virtuous or elevated" by referring to the event as "such a great hour as this," thereby stressing the importance of the occasion.[119] The orator also sought to establish his character by stressing his competence. Supporting Davis' stand on the question of states' rights, Galloway presented himself as an authority on the subject by describing his sources as "the best speeches of our profoundest statesmen on both sides." Charging that he had looked at all sides of the issue and was careful to read only what the most qualified had said, the bishop professed a neutral stand by expressing his price in a "restored Union."

[119] Thonssen, Baird, and Braden, op. cit., p. 458.

Sagacity. Explaining that his purpose was "to give a judicial estimate," Galloway indicated that he acted "with tact and moderation," "displayed a sense of good taste," and was a person of "intellectual integrity and wisdom."[120] He remarked that his address would also be "removed from unreasonable censure and unreasonable praise." In actuality, the speaker did exactly the opposite; he was extravagant with praise and presented anything but a "judicial estimate;" but in stating that his intentions were to be fair, he appeared objective. Insisting that his was a dispassionate view of Davis, the orator reasoned that the passage of time qualified him and his audience to view the man in an unbiased manner:

> The passions of war have sufficiently cooled and the clouds of war have so floated from our national skies that even the most ardent and sentimental nationalist can study the man and his times in a clear, white light.

Clarifying his reasons for presenting "The Life and Times of Jefferson Davis," Galloway further established sagacity by explaining the intention to set the record straight regarding the matter in order that,

> . . .the fundamental principles for which our fathers contended should be often reiterated in order that the purpose which inspired them may be abundantly vindicated.

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[120] Ibid., p. 459.

Good Will. As his only attempt to establish good will, Galloway's first statement served to identify "himself properly with the hearers" by indicating that he had graduated from the University of Mississippi and rejoiced "to be again on the beautiful campus."[121]

Emotional Appeals

Employing appeals to anger, reverence of a leader, self respect, and loyalty to the nation, Galloway praised Davis and the South but offered criticism for the North.

Anger. Galloway did not evoke anger for anger's sake, rather his intention was likely designed to aid him in reestablishing the self-esteem of the South as he recreated the past sins of the North, for in his view, the North forced the South to withdraw from the Union. Then too the orator utilized appeals to anger as he defended Davis' conduct during the war.

While the bishop acknowledged that "Everyone is glad that slavery is gone," he made clear his opinion regarding the contribution of the North to the continuation of that practice. In reminding his audience that the South was not totally responsible for the institution of slavery, Galloway noted that "It was the climate at the North and the cotton

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[121] Ibid.

gin at the South that regulated the distribution of slave labor." Taking a stronger position, Galloway added, "I have scant respect for a conscience too sensitive to own certain property because it is immoral but without slightest compunction will sell the same to another at full market value." With harsh words, the orator also reminded his listeners of northern agitation which had so inflamed southern tempers, citing the attack on Harper's Ferry as an example:

> William H. Seward, it was said, contributed money to John Brown which was used for pillage and murder. John Brown's midnight raid on Harper's Ferry was applauded to the echo throughout the North, and when the old assassin was executed according to law, bells were tolled in many places, cannon were fired, and prayers were offered for him as if he were the saintliest of martyrs. By fervid orators he was placed on the same cannonized roll with Paul and Silas.

According to Galloway, argument was on the side of the South; but more importantly, the North had refused to acknowledge that they were wrong. He heaped blame upon the northern leaders who "had determined no longer to uphold the Constitution and give to the South what she considered her rights and quality in the Union." Offering evidence, he explained that "we have only to reread the extreme and inflamed utterances of their chief men," whom he listed as Horace Greeley, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and the New York Tribune.

Before defending Davis' actions during the war, Galloway prefaced his argument by mentioning that others accused of the same crimes were never punished, and for a brief moment, he managed to arouse anger, not toward those who had escaped punishment, but to the idea that Davis had been singled out. In short, Galloway portrayed Davis as a martyr, lamenting that "while others have been acquitted of blame and many applauded as patriots and heroes, upon his weary shoulders have been piled the sins of the South, and he has been execrated as the arch-traitor of American politics." In this instance, Galloway likely aroused sympathy for Davis as well. Listing one by one the accusations against the South's beloved leader, Galloway emphasized the absurdity of the entire situation:

> In the North he was charged with everything from the sin of secession to the 'horrors of Andersonville' and the assassination of Mr. Lincoln. In the South he was held accountable for everything from the failure to capture Washington after the first battle of Manassas to the unsuccessful return of the Peace Commission and the surrender of Lee's tattered legions at Appomattox.

Reverence of a Leader. Galloway viewed Davis as "the most illustrious citizen whose name ever adorned and enriched the annals of Mississippi." Arousing reverence for the President of the Confederacy, the bishop devoted the majority of his address toward listing praise-worthy

characteristics of Davis; yet, while presenting Davis as an almost god-like leader, Galloway did not fail to imply his human qualities, noting that "Mr. Davis had his limitations and was not without his measure of human faults and frailties." He added that Davis "made mistakes because he was mortal, and he excited antagonisms because his convictions were stronger than his tactful graces." With no more mention of Davis' weaknesses, the remainder of his address was devoted to the leader's virtues which included comments regarding his outstanding achievements at West Point, his "clean boyhood, with no tendency to vice or immorality," his "trusted and conspicuous leadership," his scholarly abilities, his success as a colonel of a Mississippi regiment during the Mexican war, his popularity as a Senator, his abilities at debate and oratory, his "sensitiveness to personal official honor," his strong sense of duty, his "proud, but noble and affectionate nature," etc.

In several instances Galloway described in detail the southern leader's reactions to various events; one example was his forgiving nature as demonstrated by the manner in which he withdrew from the Union: "But there was in his voice no note of defiance; and he spoke no word of bitterness or reproach." In another instance Galloway illustrated Davis' intent to put the needs of the South and the nation above

his own by recounting the criticisms heaped upon Davis when he demonstrated his reluctance to withdraw from the Union.

Self Respect. Most of Galloway's address was designed to redeem the South's self image. Even as the orator praised Davis, he praised the South; in defending Davis, he defended the South, attempting to heighten that region's self-esteem by supporting materials, myths, and emotional appeals to anger and reverence of a leader. However, revealing more obvious efforts to arouse feelings of self respect, Galloway emphasized the humane measures taken by the South in regard to slavery, noting that "several of the Southern States were the first to pass stringent laws against the importation of African slaves." In regard to secession, the bishop again placed the South in a worthy light as he argued that,

> Secession was not a war measure; it was intended to be a peace measure. It was a deeply regretted effort on the part of the South to flee from continued strife, feeling that 'peace with two governments was better than a union of discordant States.'

Loyalty to a Nation. Another important aspect of Galloway's address was his intent to bridge the gap between the North and the South. Early in his speech he made clear his sentiments concerning sectionalism as he cited the purpose of his discourse to be that of learning "some patriotic

lessons from the life history" of Davis and to "replight our faith to the unalterable principles of Constitutional liberty to which he was passionately devoted and renew our fealty to the flag of our reunited country, which he never ceased to love." Even as an apologist, the bishop appealed to the listeners' sense of national loyalty by asserting that their revered leader desired a unified nation, mentioning that Davis urged the people "to labor for the largest good of our reunited country."

Other Distinctive Elements

Though Galloway made obvious efforts to heighten the South's self image via the life story of Davis, he made comparatively little use of southern myths. However, the bishop occasionally referred to the Old South myth, the Lost Cause myth, and the New South myth.

Old South Myth. The orator's only clear use of this myth occurred in his discussion of the early life of Davis. Indicating that after graduation from West Point and several years in military service, Davis returned to Mississippi as the master of a southern plantation, Galloway noted that Davis followed "the luxurious literary life of a cultured southern gentleman." While Galloway made no further attempts to conjure up visions of past grandeur except in the most

general way, he did mention men of the South in the worthiest of terms, perhaps hopeful that his audience could identify with such individuals:

> The men of the South wore no disguises, held no secret councils, conceded no plans, concocted no sinister schemes, organized no conclaves, and adopted no dark-lantern methods. They spoke out their honest convictions, made their pathetic pleas for justice, and openly announced their final, lamented purpose if all efforts at a peaceful adjustment should fail.

Lost Cause Myth. In two instances Galloway connected Davis with the idea of knighthood, the first reference occurring during the orator's discussion of the life of Davis. Describing Davis' participation in the Mexican war, he remarked that "Our American knighthood was in fairest flower that day." Later Galloway again spoke of Davis' chivalry as he listed the leader's outstanding characteristics:

> He was the very soul of chivalry. No plumed knight of the Middle Ages ever had higher regard for the virtue of woman or the integrity of man or the sacredness of a cause. Sensitive to wrong, cherishing above measure his stainless honor, he never in the least betrayed or allowed another to impugn it. Had he remained in the military service, I doubt not that he would have been on the tented field what Sir Henry Havelock became to the chivalry of England.

To those listeners who still held to the Old South tradition, Davis was presented as a knight of honor who held in high regard virtuous women and men of integrity as well as the

"sacredness of a cause," Even the southern listener who felt no compulsion to look back toward tradition would have been impressed.

New South Myth. Galloway utilized this myth only in his references to a nation that was finally reunited. During his introductory remarks, Galloway reflected his life long appeals for the end of sectionalism, commenting that "It is a grateful fact, in which all rejoice, that this nation is more reunited in heart and purpose today than ever in its history." In this particular speech the appeal for unity preceded his assertion that the time had come to view Davis in another light. Thus, Galloway intended for his audience to understand that the reason for his speech was not to promote old ideas to the degree that the South should feel apart from the rest of the nation. A South reunited was a distinct element in Galloway's concept of the New South.

Assessment

As Galloway delivered his commencement day address, "The Life and Times of Jefferson Davis," at the University of Mississippi on June 3, 1908, he faced an audience made up of those who had endured the Civil War as well as those who were born in its aftermath. As the Lafayette County [Mississippi] Press reported in announcing the forthcoming event, the

prospect of Galloway delivering an address on that campus managed to capture the attention of the community of Oxford, the home of the University.

Less than a year prior to his death, the occasion extended to Galloway an opportunity to once again assert his New South philosophy as he heightened the South's self-esteem and urged national unity. Perhaps just as important, this speech enabled the bishop to praise Davis whom he had once so fervently challenged on the issue of prohibition; thus Galloway set the record straight in making clear to all that he differed with Davis only in regard to an issue, not Davis' character.

Clearly, Galloway took great care in preparing the audience for his message, first by appearing to offer an objective estimation of Davis. His announced intention to study "the man and his times in a clear, white, light" gave the bishop's reasoning a more logical appearance and consequently any self delusion upon his part could have been easily overlooked by his audience. Second, the orator was straight forward in announcing his subject and purpose. During his introductory remarks Galloway provided his listeners with an overview of his address so that from the start they knew what to expect.

Galloway's arguments regarding the position and

actions of Davis and the South, around which his entire speech pivoted, epitomized the complexity of the mind of that region. Avoiding a discussion of the "right or wrong of slavery," he emphasized the North's contribution to that evil; portraying secession as undesirable, he argued that the South was forced to withdraw from the Union. So zealous were his efforts that one could only conclude that Galloway accepted the South's innocence and was totally immersed in the apologia.

Utilizing Jefferson Davis as a symbol for the South was an effective means of presenting a plea for national unity. Galloway's strategy of offering excessive praise for Davis and of shifting partial blame from the South to the North provided the audience with a message they could accept. As Galloway sought to redeem the South's self image, he presented his listeners a rationalization which permitted them to see themselves as victorious in argument, if not in battle, and therefore encouraged them to adopt a forgiving attitude, more willing to bridge the gap between the North and the South. Reminding his audience of the boundless virtues of Davis, a man who should be emulated, the bishop also emphasized that Davis had always desired national unity. Such utterances from the respected bishop probably encouraged the listeners to take up the same cause.

Judging by Galloway's letters to Joseph Bingham, the response to "The Life and Times of Jefferson Davis" was favorable, with numerous requests made for copies of the speech: "The demand for my address on Jefferson Davis in pamphlet form is so great and urgent, that I will issue it soon if the University authorities do not hurry up."[122] Then too, others desired the opportunity to hear Galloway speak of Davis. Expressing his "most respectful hearing" and its favorable reception in another letter to Bingham, the bishop added that "I have been invited to deliver the lecture at various places in the [illegible]."[123]

Summary

The speeches analyzed in this chapter, delivered between 1893 and 1908, the latter years of Galloway's career, reveal similarities but indicate no changes in ideology.

All four speeches, presented at ceremonial events in the South, were apparently well received in part because the orator structured his premises and arguments around his listeners' preconceived ideas. In short, Galloway usually told his audience what they wanted to hear as he lauded their

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[122] Bingham Papers (June 27, 1908, microfilm copy).

[123] Bingham Papers (August 8, 1908, microfilm copy).

accomplishments and leaders.

Except for his "Address at the Dedication of Millsaps College," the speeches promoted the New South concept. While praising Jefferson Davis, Galloway urged national unity, one aspect of the New South creed; in his address at the Conference for Education, he advocated equal opportunities for blacks; at the dedication ceremony upon completion of the new state capitol, he urged the South to assert itself politically. Speaking at the state capitol of Jackson and in the chapel of the University of Mississippi, the bishop attempted to heighten that region's own self image, thereby encouraging a more confident attitude as new ways and concepts changed the old order.

Perhaps most politically significant were his remarks on behalf of blacks at the Conference for Education and at the state capitol of Mississippi. While the latter occasion occurred during Vardaman's racially oriented campaign for governor, the bishop's remarks at Birmingham followed Vardaman's victory. While no immediate political questions were dealt with in Galloway's speech on Jefferson Davis, Galloway did seek to exert some influence by way of inspiration as he attempted to redeem the South's self esteem by offering his apologia for slavery, secession, and the war. Perhaps his address at Millsaps College was of least importance in terms

of impact upon the people of that state or region, though members of the Episcopal Methodist Church, South, likely considered significant his remarks regarding the scope of the newly founded college.

Galloway utilized a wide range of supporting materials. While he depended more heavily upon quotations, other forms of support included restatement, comparison, contrast, analogy, illustration, specific example, and statistics.

Even broader was his dependence upon various types of emotional appeals which included appeals to anger, imitation, fear, sympathy, reverence of a deity, reverence of a leader, reputation, pride, loyalty to a nation, loyalty to an institution, building, self respect, power, and independence.

Because all four of the speeches were delivered during the latter part of his career, in his own region, and were presented to an audience favorably inclined toward his position, Galloway apparently felt little need for depending heavily upon ethical appeals. Though apparent in varying degrees in these addresses, such appeals were not a major factor.

Though not extensively utilized, southern myths were evident in all of the speeches except his address at Millsaps. While myths relating to the Old South, the Lost Cause, and the New South were apparent, the bishop avoided

appeals to racial biases promoted by the Solid South myth. Perhaps the most unusual aspect of these speeches was his lack of dependence upon emotionally charged myths in spite of their usefulness to Galloway as a New South orator. Even when delivering his apologia at the University of Mississippi, the orator avoided heavy reliance upon Old South and Lost Cause myths.

Providing insight into the mind of Galloway, these discourses are significant, revealing his views on the race question, the role of Christian education, and the status and future of the South. In all four speeches, the bishop made specific recommendations, portraying himself as a man who sought earnestly to assert influence over his people, and to alter the future course of his state, his region, and his nation.

Chapter IV

GALLOWAY'S LECTURES

Participating in two well-known lecture series, Galloway delivered the Cole lectures at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee, on May 3-14, 1896, and presented his second lecture series, the Quillian lectures, at Emory College in Oxford, Georgia, on March 22-27, 1898.[1] The Cole lectures, published in book form in 1896 under the title Modern Missions: Their Evidential Value, included six lectures which are as follows:

> "The Question Stated; or, The Answering Voice of History"
> "Christianity and Other Religions"
> "Portable Evidences from Many Lands"
> "Fruits from Various Fields"
> "The Message of Missions to the Church"
> "Lessons from Some Master Missionaries"[2]

The Quillian lectures, also published, appeared under the title of Christianity and the American Commonwealth; or, The

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[1]William Larkin Duren, Charles Betts Galloway, Orator, Preacher, and "Prince of Christian Chivalry" (Atlanta, Georgia: Banner Press, 1932), p. 299; Charles Betts Galloway, Modern Missions: Their Evidential Value (Nashville: Publishing House Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1896).

[2]Galloway, Modern Missions: Their Evidential Value, op. cit.

Influence of Christianity in Making this Nation and consisted of five lectures with the following titles:

"Religion and Civil Government"
"The Christian Coming and Character of the Early Colonists"
"The Christian Institutions and Laws of the Colonists"
"Christianity and the Nation"
"Christian Education in the American Commonwealth"[3]

The purpose of this chapter is to present an analysis of the first lecture from each of the two series: "The Question Stated; or The Answering Voice of History" (Cole lectures) and "Religion and Civil Government" (Quillian lectures)

GALLOWAY'S FIRST LECTURE IN THE COLE SERIES

Having traveled extensively to missionary fields in America as well as in the Orient, Galloway could claim first-hand knowledge of modern missions. He presented the first lecture of the Cole series, "The Question Stated, or The Answering Voice of History" on May 3, 1896, in the college chapel at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee. Approaching his subject as a historical study, the bishop used the lecture to set forth views regarding the role of

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[3]Charles Betts Galloway, Christianity and the American Commonwealth; or, The Influence of Christianity in Making this Nation (Nashville: Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1898), p. 5.

missions and the church's responsibility toward that endeavor. This address, as well as the remainder of the series, suggests that Galloway was indeed influenced by the mission work he had seen in his travels.

General Background

Vanderbilt University, the setting of Galloway's discourse, had a distinguished reputation as an institution of higher learning in the South. Since scholars were brought to its faculty and fixed requirements for admission and graduation were maintained, Vanderbilt had a significant impact upon the entire educational system of the southern states.[4]

As a Methodist college, Vanderbilt had a Bible department under the leadership of Wilbur Tillett, who became dean in 1885. Drawing students from the best colleges in the South, the Bible department made great contributions to the liberalization of religious thought in the church.[5] Out of that department came the sponsorship of the Cole lectures. Mims explains:

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[4]Hunter Dickinson Farish, The Circuit Rider Dismounts, A Social History of Southern Methodism, 1865-1900 (New York: Dacapo Press, 1969), pp. 275-276.

[5]Edwin Mims, History of Vanderbilt University (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1946), p. 164.

> The teaching and writing of the Biblical faculty was supplemented by the Cole Lectures and by the Institute held at Vanderbilt for many years. The foundation enabled the department to bring to Vanderbilt every year some of its most distinguished scholars and preachers of America and Great Britain.[6]

Because of a national Methodist Conference being held in Cleveland, Ohio, that week, thoughts of church politics must have weighed heavily on the Methodists during the period of May 3-14, 1896. A Nashville newspaper mentioned the Conference's discussion of a possible reunion with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, adding that the southern body of that church had sent a delegate, a Dr. Morris.[7] Tennessee's Sunday School Conference also took place during the week of the Cole lectures and Galloway's picture appeared in connection with that session.[8]

Specific Occasion

Publicity regarding Galloway's Cole lectures was somewhat meager. In Jackson, Mississippi, the Daily Clarion Ledger announced Galloway's departure for Nashville:

> Bishop Chas. B. Galloway left this afternoon for Nashville, Tenn., where he goes to attend the meeting of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church.

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[6] Ibid., p. 166.

[7] Nashville Banner, May 6, 1896 (page number illegible).

[8] Nashville Banner, May 2, 1896, p. 1.

> During his absence, Bishop Galloway will deliver a course of seven lectures at Vanderbilt University, his subject being 'Missions.'[9]

Even the campus paper The Vanderbilt Hustler made little mention of the event except to announce simply the time and place of the lectures.[10] Later the student newspaper reported the first lecture presented on Sunday afternoon and mentioned that the speeches would be printed in pamphlet form.[11] Jane Thomas of the Joint University Libraries in Nashville suggests the reason for such sparse notices:

> Unfortunately the Hustler then was published by the Athletic Association and was devoted almost exclusively to sports news. Thus the more important academic events were either only mentioned or altogether overlooked.[12]

Likewise the Nashville Banner published little about the event except to announce the topics and times for each lecture. The most detailed article described the first lecture delivered in the chapel on Sunday afternoon at 3:00. The services were opened with a song which was then followed by a prayer

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[9] Daily Clarion Ledger [Jackson, Mississippi], May 1, 1896, p. 1.

[10] The Vanderbilt Hustler, April 23, 1896.

[11] The Vanderbilt Hustler, May 7, 1896.

[12] Based on personal correspondence between Jane Thomas, Assistant in Special Collections in the Joint University Libraries in Nashville, and the writer.

offered by Bishop Granberry. Reverend W. F. Tillett gave a brief history of the Cole lectures, expressing the hope that the series would become to Vanderbilt what a similar lectureship had become to Oxford in England. At that point, Galloway was introduced. When the bishop had completed his first lecture of the series, Dr. Tillett announced that the next discourse would be delivered at McKendree Church on Wednesday evening.[13]

Audience

Because Galloway's lecture was connected with the Bible department at Vanderbilt, the audience probably consisted of that department's faculty and students as well as other campus members interested in the event. The Nashville Banner mentioned that several bishops were present.[14] Then too, various church members and officials in the Nashville area were likely on hand. However, publication of the lectures undoubtedly gave Galloway a much larger audience.

Purpose

While in part this lecture served to introduce the entire series, Galloway's major purpose was to answer the

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[13] Nashville Banner, May 4, 1896, p. 6.

[14] Ibid.

question which he himself posed: "What changes have been wrought?" In providing an answer, the bishop hoped to prove the values and success of missions and thereby encourage further support on the part of the church. Certainly, he made no attempt to conceal his purpose, stating, "It is hoped, however, that the report and its study will prove a persuasive plea for Missions and an additional enforcement of our divine indebtedness to the Christian world."

Theme

Suggesting his theme, Galloway declared, "We are to 'ask the days that are past' and passing and give earnest heed to the 'answering voice of history.'" Further clarifying his theme, Galloway asserted that by looking at the past one could see that missions have made great contributions to the betterment of the world.

Basic Premises

In explaining his approach to the series, the bishop insisted that the results of Christianity and its missions can be tested by looking at history, pointing out that missions have produced beneficial changes in various countries of the world. As a result, the bishop contended that the public was demonstrating a more positive attitude toward missions and missionaries. Not suggesting that all was well,

Galloway reminded his audience that opposition still existed among those who believed that missions were a failure. However, he asserted that many of those arguments could be answered by considering the incompetency of the witnesses. After extolling the value of missions, the bishop concluded his discourse by suggesting that any interference with Christian missions was treason.

Lines of Argument

Galloway asserted that because "'history is the supreme test of all things'" Christianity's claims could be tested by looking at past evidence. Appearing to approach this concept with objectivity, he explained his intent to inquire into "what disclosures modern missions have made to the church" and "to discover, if possible how far this divine ideal has been made actual." Explaining that the facts had clearly proven the great changes in the world brought about by missionary efforts, he listed numerous examples such as China, India, Japan, and Siam. To demonstrate his belief that the world in general had softened its once hostile attitude toward missions, he pointed to various individuals and newspapers which were offering praise for mission work. Acknowledging that opposition still existed, Galloway attempted to answer specific criticisms which had been directed against

missions. For example, in countering the assertion that Christianity was not adapted to the oriental mind, he contended that "friends of Christianity report that missions have met with great success." He also reminded his audience that tourists and residents were unaware of the work of missions. In addition, Galloway explained that the criticism could be answered by observing the incompetency of these sources, whom he declared were either influenced by self interest or were incapable of making valid observations because of their Godlessness, their lack of faith, or their unawareness of missions. Assuming that he had established his claims, Galloway provided a choice for his listeners by remarking that if Christianity did not meet its claims this should be revealed; but if it did, anyone who interfered with mission work would be guilty of treason.

Organization

Other than brief attempts to heighten his ethos, Galloway's introductory remarks served to explain his purpose and method of analyzing his contentions. Utilizing the logical method of arrangement in the body of his lecture he cited examples of mission successes and refuted the opposition. By listing the contributions of missions, then presenting the accusations of the opponents, and finally striking down each one, he dealt with "issues developed by the opponents of a

proposed course of action."[15] In his conclusion Galloway reaffirmed his contentions that missions should be maintained.

Forms of Support

To assert his belief that missions were successful and should therefore be sustained, Galloway relied upon analogy, statistics, examples, quotations, and narration as supporting material.

Analogy. The orator employed analogy sparingly to discount witnesses who opposed missions. Stating that "We may be in immediate presence of great verities and not know it," he added, "But that sublime truths are discredited or denied is not necessarily an argument against their existence." To illustrate his point, Galloway used an analogy: "We are told that if our ear nerves were sufficiently delicate that most rapturous music could be caught from the rising and falling of the sap in the trees of the forest."

Examples. Unlike analogy, examples were a significant part of Galloway's lecture. During the first portion of his

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[15] Lester Thonssen, A. Craig Baird, and Waldo W. Braden, Speech Criticism (2d ed.; New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1970), p. 476.

lecture he frequently employed that form of support when stressing the major changes in various countries which had resulted from mission work. First offering a very general example, he explained that "isolation has yielded to a world-wide spirit of neighborhood, and the most frigid exclusiveness has been compelled to surrender to the warmth of an international hospitality." Continuing, the bishop became more specific; he reminded his listeners that "except in few countries, notably in Turkey, there is tolerance of religious opinion" and that "Siam gives ample governmental protection and even royal welcome to missionaries." He added that "China has seen her great wall broken, and the breach can never be healed." Referring to Japan, Galloway stated:

> Japan, an empire of forty millions of people, once the most exclusive of hermit nations and which less than fifty years ago prohibited the introduction of Christianity on penalty of death, is now as tolerant in opinion and as open to the gospel as the most Christian nation.

Likewise, the lecturer noted that India was finally under Christian influence and that many of the peoples of the South Seas had ceased practicing cannibalism. Citing more examples such as Fiji, Mexico, and Brazil, Galloway further supported his contention that Christianity had brought great changes to formerly heathen nations.

Galloway also employed examples to support his assertion that there had been a change in the world's attitude toward missionaries. Citing David Livingstone, "who once ridiculed as a fanatic, was given a State funeral and sepulture [sic] in Westminister Abbey," the bishop also mentioned the new attitude of the East India Company toward William Carey:

> When Carey had finished his course--had accomplished his marvelous work and peacefully fallen asleep--that same East India Company lowered its flags to half-mast on the day of his funeral, and honored the 'consecrated cobbler' as though he had been a viceroy or a general of armies.

Later employing an example to refute criticisms of missions, Galloway discounted the opponents' ability to comprehend what they saw. He explained that "an untutored savage could not be expected to give an intelligent opinion about the system of Copernicus in astronomy, or the Baconian method in philosophy, or the value of jetties in hydraulics."

Statistics. While stressing the benefits which had resulted from missions, Galloway also noted the change in the attitude of the church. Though not relying upon statistics as a major means of support, in this instance he presented figures which illustrated the increasing popularity of missions. Declaring the church to be "awake and at work," he observed that:

> Organizations have multiplied until about five hundred and sixty-one societies are actively engaged in advancing the enterprise of foreign Missions. The offerings to this sacred cause have increased from the £ 13 2s 6d. of the humble Kettering Baptists to a yearly contribution of $15,000,000. There are three societies in America that expend annually over $1,000,000 each in sending the gospel to the regions beyond.

In another instance, as Galloway pled the case of Hindu women who were in dire need of Christian liberation, he offered a disturbing view regarding the number of child widows:

> It seems incredible that there are twenty-three million widows in India of whom ten thousand one hundred and sixty-five are under four years of age, and fifty-one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five are between the ages of five and nine.

Yet, while Galloway relied upon statistics to illustrate the need and success of missions, on the other hand, he discounted the validity of numbers as he demonstrated that figures do not necessarily prove success:

> Max Muller made a reply to Cannon Taylor (who was at once frightened by his own figures and strangely enamored with Islamism) that was as apt as it was philosophical: 'If I gain ten, I am right; if somebody else gains twelve, then I am wrong.' Thus he exposed the absurdity of the mere mathematics of religion.

Quotations. Throughout his lecture, Galloway frequently relied upon quotations, citing a variety of sources ranging from Plotinus to the London Times. One of his first uses of this form of support occurred during his introductory

remarks as the bishop explained what was not the purpose of his lecture:

> Dr. Fairbairn has said that 'It is the function of the philosophic historian, the man of science in the field of religion, to get by analysis at the whole history of the genesis of the ideas that create our religious institutions.' So ambitious a purpose is not contemplated in these lectures, but the facilities and materials for such a searching and final analysis are at hand, and have been furnished by the missionaries.

In a similar manner, Galloway indicated what was and what was not the claim of Christianity:

> And this is the Christian's high claim. He contends not with Dionysius that 'history is philosophy teaching by example,' not with Matthew Arnold that it is a mere 'stream of tendency,' but rather that history is the movement of God in providence and grace. That as in the Old Testament history there is an unmistakable discernment of 'one Presence and one increasing purpose,' so the later history of the Church, especially the story of missionary endeavor, reveals a Savior 'come and coming' and one 'mighty to save.'

Galloway further employed quotations to refute the criticism of missions by asserting that "the Godless cannot interpret the divine." To support that conclusion the lecturer commented that, "Our own natures must be in sympathy with one if we would really know him." Turning to classical history he then quoted Plotinus for support: "'He must become Godlike who desires to see God.'"

In his efforts to stress that the world no longer harbored a hostile attitude toward missionaries, the bishop

cited individuals in several instances, but in one case he illustrated that change by quoting the London Times, once opposed to missions but later offering its support. Galloway noted the newspaper's assessment of Drs. Moffatt and Livingstone:

> 'Moffatt, it may be said, has labored, and other men have entered into his labor. Livingstone has come after him and has gone beyond him and has linked his memory forever with the records of the South African Church. The progress of South Africa has been mainly due to men of Moffatt's stamp.'

The quotation continued with more praise for both men. As further support, the bishop cited the London Quarterly Review's comment regarding "'Men of mark for scholarship, in larger number than ever'" who were devoting "'their talents to the labor or the literature of the mission field and add to its prestige.'" The article went on to list specific individuals who had worked in missions.

While making more references to factual events and contemporary sources other than the Bible, Galloway did mention Scriptural characters such as Daniel and Paul. In this instance, the lecturer sought to support his assertion of Christianity's "certain conquest of the world:"

> And Daniel declared that 'his dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.' St. Paul affirmed 'that in the dispensation of the fullness of times he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth.'

Narration. In observing the failure of tourists and residents to note the existence of missions, Galloway recounted a story from "Recollections of an Indian Missionary." The event in the story had taken place thirty-five years earlier as a regiment from Benares passed through Cawnpore. During a dinner party held by the officers, a conversation between a captain and a lady developed around the question of an Orphan House in Benares. Utilizing dialogue form, Galloway narrated the event:

> 'But they have an Orphan House there,' replied the lady.
> 'Pardon me; there exists no institution of that kind,' said the captain.
> 'But I pay a subscription to it annually.'
> 'I believe that; but I was three years in Benares, and must have seen the institution if it existed.'
> Then the gentleman who sat at the lady's right-hand said quietly to her, 'Wait a little;' and then he asked the captain, 'Did you use to go to church, sir?'
> 'Yes, we are commanded to attend.'
> 'But who preached in Benares, for there is no government chaplain there?'
> 'True, we had no padres; but the service was conducted by clergymen who were much beloved by our men.'
> 'Strange, captain; you attended services which were conducted by missionaries, and you know nothing of the existence of these gentlemen.'
> 'W-h-a-t! Were they missionaries?'

As the bishop continued, he revealed that the captain had ridden on the grounds of the Orphan House but mistook it for a factory. Thus, Galloway presented an effective illustration to support his point that some were unaware of mission work.

Ethical Appeals

With his prior reputation well established, Galloway made few efforts at heightening his ethos. Not only was his audience at Vanderbilt well acquainted with him as a bishop in the church, but he had also played a prominent role in the administration of the college. Galloway's limited attempts toward establishing his image were aimed primarily at heightening his character and sagacity.

Character. Immediately indicating his experience with mission fields and demonstrating an appropriate humility, Galloway remarked:[16]

> Having recently enjoyed the privilege of inspecting several of the great mission fields of the world, it seemed incongruous that I should positively decline, [this invitation] however meager might be my contribution to the discussion of so exalted a theme.

By concluding that remark with "so exalted a theme," he associated his message with what was elevated. In like manner, his preceding sentence also served to elevate his message when the bishop explained that "The subject, and not the position, though most honorable, constrained my acceptance and accounts for my appearance."

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[16] Ibid., pp. 458-459.

Sagacity. Galloway probably enhanced his sagacity by his posture as an objective observer of the facts, thereby suggesting "intellectual integrity."[17] For example, the bishop mentioned that his purpose was "to speak more as a witness than an advocate--to testify rather than to defend." A less obvious attempt in this same direction was his use of the word "inquiry" which also implied objectivity:

> Our inquiry, therefore, will be as to what disclosures modern Missions have made to the Church--what additions to the history of Christian doctrine and what distinct contributions to the evidence and defense of the gospel.

Emotional Appeals

Galloway employed a broad variety of emotional appeals which included anger, fear, sympathy, pride, power, and reverence of a deity.

Anger. Through appeals to anger, Galloway presented an unattractive picture of those who opposed missions, dividing the opponents into two categories--those outside the church and those within the church. While acknowledging that the East India Company and the Philadelphia Record had changed their attitude in regard to missions, he described their former contempt by quoting them directly, possibly as

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[17] Ibid., p. 459.

a means of dramatizing the degradation once suffered by missionaries:

> The East India Company formally expressed its estimate of Christian Missions in these rather sarcastic words: 'The sending of Christian missionaries into our Eastern possessions is the maddest, most expensive, most unwarranted project that was ever proposed by a lunatic enthusiast.'

Of the Philadelphia Record, he commented:

> So able an organ of public opinion as the Philadelphia Record has been betrayed into so monstrous a declaration as this: 'It has been estimated by well informed authorities that it takes an average of over two million dollars to convert one Chinaman; and the worst of it is that for every Chinaman converted to Christianity, at least a thousand Christians have been converted into corpses.'

Galloway's use of "sarcastic" and "monstrous" added emotional weight to the testimony and contributed to the speaker's arousal of anger. He employed this same technique to refute the witnesses who opposed missions and thus presented those individuals as standing in the way of success. For example, to illustrate that personal interests could affect a witness' judgment and thereby discount the credibility of their criticisms, he mentioned that "individual interest may prompt adverse judgment. The doctrines preached, if they become dominant, might injure his immoral business."

As the speaker turned his attention to those within the church who opposed missions, he continued to use unflattering language. Even the ministry was not spared as

exemplified in the following passage:

> No Christian minister would now be tolerated with such a narrow and intolerant spirit--one who would dare ridicule a cause 'in which the Spirit of God mingles, and which the providence of God molds.'

Describing the critics within the church, Galloway explained the cause of their opposition. Providing an effective retort through terms such as "enfeebled faith" and "infirmity of temper" Galloway suggested the inability of some Christians to accept God's will:

> And there is yet another class of critics, who are found in the Church at home. They are represented by Canon Taylor and others who, from what they regard as the slow progress of Missions, prophesy its failure. This class may not be large, but never fail to be heard. Such pessimism may result from an enfeebled faith or infirmity of temper.

His harsh description was extended as he implied that fear and panic within the church was thwarting the success of missions:

> There are always crises in the Church to some people--their faith is a chronic state of panic. To them every discouragement is a calamity, and every seeming failure an utter defeat. They carry two small banners; one a danger signal, the other a flag of truce. At the first assault of an enemy they are ready to flee the field or run up a white flag. At the first rumble of thunder they forsake the house and rush for a storm pit. This is the faith of circumstances, not of eternal verities. They trust an arm of flesh, not a God's might to save.[1]

Certainly, no one within the church desired to be identified as such.

Fear. Galloway's only attempt to arouse fear occurred during his introductory remarks as he cited the consequences of neglecting the heathen. The listener was assumed to fear for the reputation and future of the church as well as for the souls of themselves and of the non-believers when Galloway listed "two dreadful alternatives" which were "(1) The Church will be condemned for neglect of the heathen; (2) the heathen will be doomed to perpetual degradation because of that neglect." By the threat of two choices, Galloway probably hoped to produce greater enthusiasm within his audience for the mission cause.

Sympathy. Offering the spread of Christianity as a reason for missions, Galloway mentioned the social consequences too. In asserting that the Hindu women had few rights and were therefore in need of the redeeming value of Christianity, the bishop utilized his only appeal to sympathy when he illustrated the dire conditions of the child widows of India as reported by the Ramabai Association:

> Referring to the statement that the life of a child widow was not so hard and piteous as had been represented--that their bodies were not so 'emaciated and disfigured by cruel blows,' that the number of suicides and lives of shame was exaggerated--the last report says: 'Let him who believes such statements, though made by the Hindoos themselves, come to the Saharada Sadana, listen to the pitiful stories of some of its inmates, see the white mark of the hot iron on the head, the little white scars made by

> the sharp finger nails meeting in the tender flesh of the face--as I have heard and seen all this, and much more--and he will not only know the truth, but he will feel it a privilege to do something for these unfortunate children.'

While invoking sympathy for these unfortunate children, Galloway's description of their plight must also have stirred anger in regard to the Hindu faith.

Pride. To demonstrate the successes of missions, Galloway emphasized the "change in the world's attitude toward missionaries." Men once considered "detachments of lunatics" were now "uppermost in public esteem." Designed to arouse a sense of pride and thus a feeling of accomplishment and hope among his listeners, Galloway employed appeals to the listener's pride. Listing numerous examples and citing various witnesses to the success of missions, the bishop thereby encouraged continued support for those efforts.

Power. Galloway stressed the church's ability to make an accurate judgment on historical events which were to be viewed as criteria for determining the success of missions, and in doing so he noted that "We occupy the highest vantage point in history for the thorough study of Christianity," adding that because of this they were "better able than any former generation to form a correct estimate of its spirit, doctrines, and ethical system, as compared with other

religions." Such comments gave status or weight to his speech by suggesting to his listeners that his lectures were based upon this special "vantage point in history."

The bishop explained that he would be looking at history objectively to see the value of missions or to "see what experience confirms," rather than to "consider what the Scriptures command." However, Galloway also emphasized God's hand in historical events, commenting that "especially the story of missionary endeavor, reveals a Savior 'come and coming,' and one 'mighty to save.'" By so doing he invoked in support of missions the power of God, which was also the power of their own religion. Galloway employed the same technique as he remarked that Christianity, seen as historical events, revealed itself to be "'not a mere spirit, a spirit unclothed;' but projects intself into the life and institutions of the world and seeks to mold and control them for its own lofty and beneficent ends." Not limiting the power of Christianity to mere influence, Galloway remarked that Christianity's "conquest of the world is affirmed as positively as the very existence of God, on whom it is conditioned."

While the bishop's discussion of the specific changes in various countries which had come under the influence of Christianity and missions was a clear attempt to rouse the

audience's sense of pride over such accomplishments, the numerous examples of China, India, etc., also demonstrated the power of Christian missionary endeavors, or, in effect, the power of his audience's religion.

Reverence of a Deity. Speaking to an audience made up of Christians, Galloway's plea for continued support of missions was based upon the listener's personal commitment to God. Referring to "Christ as the world's Redeemer and Lord," Galloway evoked an authoritative image, one to be reverenced. In several instances, the bishop reminded the audience of the link between God and missions. For example, he mentioned the church's "divine indebtedness to the Christ-less world," and spoke of the "divine ideal" which was "made actual in the history of modern Missions." Thus, the bishop reaffirmed the listeners' belief that missions conformed to God's will.

Assessment

When Galloway spoke in the chapel at Vanderbilt on May 3, 1896, to urge continued support of missions, he developed his views with a variety of supporting materials and emotional appeals. Utilizing the logical method of organization to counter the arguments against missions, Galloway stressed the importance of historical events as a

test for the success of missionary endeavors. Perhaps the most note-worthy aspects of his first lecture in the Cole series were his extensive use of non-Biblical support and his appearance of objectivity as he pleaded for continued support of missions.

Well armed with specific examples, quotations, and even statistics, the bishop did not limit his development to Scriptural passages, though he certainly included references to the Bible at various points during his lecture. Considering "not so much what the Scriptures command as what experience confirms," he appeared all the more logical and more carefully prepared with facts, rather than entirely dependent upon Biblical interpretation.

Galloway's strategy of stating his intention "to testify rather than to defend," suggested a presentation that would be objective, that he would serve "more as a witness than to defend." With his repetition of "if" the bishop appeared as an unbiased observer who had looked at Christianity's claims, measured them against historical events, and had considered such questions as "if it is simply suited to the genius of a particular people," "if it is not the answer," and "if it is not necessary to every child." However, Galloway also made quite clear his hope that "the report and its study will prove a persuasive plea

for Missions." From the start, the listeners were well aware of Galloway's sentiments even as he continued to imply a questioning attitude toward his subject.

Not to be discounted is Galloway's own image as a "missionary bishop" who had traveled to various mission fields in America, South America, Mexico, and in the Orient. Possibly some of his listeners had read letters he had written during his travels and later published in the New Orleans Christian Advocate. In addition to his high position in the church and his past influence in the administration of Vanderbilt, Galloway therefore projected a credibility which was a definite advantage.

Just as there had been little publicity regarding the upcoming Cole lectures, so also there was little press reaction to indicate the success of the series. However, in his biography of Galloway, Candler stressed the importance of the bishop's lectures: "They deeply impressed those who had the privilege of hearing them, and influenced and informed the vastly greater number who read them after their publication."[18] The day following the first lecture, the Nashville Banner noted that "It was thoughtful and

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[18]Warren Akin Candler, Bishop Charles Betts Galloway (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1927), p. 285.

delivered in the Bishop's eloquent manner," adding that it "was given the closest attention by a large audience present."[19]

GALLOWAY'S FIRST LECTURE IN THE QUILLIAN SERIES

As a minister and a bishop, Galloway frequently took sides on various social and poltical issues while at the same time professing his belief in separation of church and state. On March 22, 1898, at Emory College in Oxford, Georgia, Galloway launched the Quillian lectures with his discourse on "Religion and Civil Government" which exemplifies his views regarding the influence of religion upon government, and perhaps provides insight as to how the bishop rationalized his public stand on the problems of his times.

General Background

The setting of Galloway's lectures, Emory College, was chartered in 1836 by the Methodists and named in honor of a Methodist bishop, John Emory, who had helped organize several northern colleges and presided over the Georgia

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[19] Nashville Banner, May 4, 1896, p. 6.

Conference in 1834.[20] As an outgrowth of the Georgia Methodist Conference Manual Labor School, in 1937, 1,452 acres of land were selected with 330 acres designated for the collegiate community which was named Oxford in honor of the English University where John and Charles Wesley were educated. Under the planning of Edward Lloyd Thomas, Oxford's main streets, named for Methodist founders and leaders, converged on the site of the central building of the campus. Emory opened its doors in 1839 and graduated its first class in 1841, but it was forced to close during the Civil War.[21] After the conflict between the states, Emory's situation stabilized, and in 1888-98, during the presidency of Warren A. Candler, the attendance at that school rose to above three hundred. Candler reorganized the curriculum to provide three four-year courses of study: the classical course led to an A.B. Degree; the second, the Ph.D., emphasized history; and the third, the B.S., stressed science.[22]

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[20] Merton Coulter, College Life in the Old South (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1928), p. 159.

[21] Historic Old Oxford, Georgia (pamphlet put out by Emory College at Oxford, Georgia); George Gillman Smith, The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People, 1732-1860 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1968), p. 506.

[22] Franklin M. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1954), p. 642.

The Quillian lectures developed out of the desire of Reverend W. F. Quillian to promote the cause of Christian education and to advance the theological literature of Methodism. On June 4, 1897, he sent a communication to the Board of Trustees of Emory College suggesting that such a goal be undertaken and indicated that he would give to Emory fifty shares of $10 of the capital stock of the Country Bank Stock Security Company for the purpose of founding a lectureship. Conditions of the lectureship were set up as follows:

1. The lecturer should be elected by the Board of Trustees upon the nomination of the faculty. Three names would be submitted in nomination from among the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal churches in the United States. If there was enough to secure someone outside the United States, they could do so.

2. The lecturer should be free to select his subject "within the range of apologetical doctrinal, exegetical, pastoral, or historical theology."

3. The lecturer should deliver the series before the faculty and students of Emory College.

4. The manuscripts of the lecturers should become the property of Emory.

The first Quillian lectures were delivered on March 22-27, 1898, by Charles Galloway.[23]

The campus Galloway visited in 1898 consisted of

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[23]Charles Betts Galloway, Christianity and the American Commonwealth; or, The Influence of Christianity in Making this Nation, op. cit., pp. 3-5.

buildings which were primarily of Greek Revival architecture. Among those structures was "Old Church" which was the setting for Atticus G. Haygood's famous sermon, "The New South" delivered on Thanksgiving Day in 1880. As a result of that sermon, George I. Seney, a Methodist layman of New York City, gave Emory a large sum of money which enabled the building of Seney Hall. Other buildings included Phi Gamma Hall, first built to house the first literary and debating societies; Soldiers' Cemetery, composed of the literary society buildings which had served as hospitals where both Confederate and Union soldiers were cared for; Language Hall; the Science Building; Candler Hall; and the Prayer Chapel in which Galloway delivered his Quillian lectures.[24]

Specific Occasion

Apparently involved in research for the series several months in advance, Galloway wrote Joseph Bingham on January 24, 1898, that "In preparing for the Quillian Lectures I am greatly embarrassed for want of a library. We have a magnificent loan library in Mississippi, but almost nothing for

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[24] Historic Old Oxford, Georgia, op. cit.

other students."[25]

As Galloway delivered his lectures, national events must have weighed heavily on the minds of his listeners due to predictions of war with Spain. While the front page of the Atlanta Constitution of March 22 was filled with threats of war on behalf of Cuba, the paper made no mention of the lectures except for a small notation on page 10 which stated, "Bishop Galloway was in the city yesterday and left for Oxford, where he goes to make an inspection of the college."[26] As the week of Galloway's lectures continued, the Atlanta Constitution contained more grim news regarding America's conflict over Cuba. On March 24, the paper printed the headlines, "State Militia to Get First Chance" and "In Case of War the Young Men will be Asked to Volunteer."[27] Again on the next day the paper printed across its front page, "Great Excitement at the Nation's Capital--War Clouds Hang Heavy."[28]

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[25]Joseph Reid Bingham Papers (Department of Special Collections, Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, January 24, 1898, microfilm copy).

[26]Atlanta Constitution, March 22, 1898, p. 1, p. 10.

[27]Atlanta Constitution, March 24, 1898, p. 1.

[28]Atlanta Constitution, March 25, 1898, p. 1.

Audience

Galloway's audience likely consisted of students and faculty of Emory as well as some of the local residents and church officials of Oxford. Located only about 35 miles east of Atlanta, perhaps some of that city's Methodists were able to make the journey to hear Galloway's discourse.

Purpose

As Galloway observed the first lecture of the Quillian series served "as an introductory to this study of our earlier American history, and in order to get a vantage point from which to take the most satisfactory observation." But more importantly, expressing his concern over the tendency of historians to ignore religion as a significant force in the forming of America, Galloway revealed his hope to (1) "arrest that tendency" and (2) aid the students at Emory toward a "broader study of the earlier history" of America. Perhaps realizing the possible future influence of the students in his audience as well as the presence of history teachers, the bishop attempted to impress upon them the relation of religion to the character and make-up of civil government.

Theme

While in the series Galloway sought to reveal "The

Influence of Christianity in Making this Nation," his lecture on "Religion and Civil Government" theorized that "governments and civilizations of all people are typed and determined by the character of their religions." Taking this proposition one step further, he contended that the major non-Christian religions of the world made life miserable for their followers while Christianity and "The teachings of Christ are the perfect solution of all the problems of society." To this the lecturer added that Protestantism was a positive force while Romanism was "adapted to a feudal state," an idea that was further developed in the following lectures.

Basic Premises

Viewing religion as an influence on the politics of a nation, Galloway reasoned that it was better for a nation to have a bad god than no god at all. Insisting that governments of non-Christian countries were "despotic," he provided a contrast and a better alternative in the assertion that liberal and representative governments existed only in Christian countries. As an aside in his first lecture, the bishop also expressed his belief that "Romanism sterilizes" while "Protestantism vitalizes."

Lines of Argument

Reasoning that religion influenced the policies of a nation because religion and politics were one and the same, Galloway concluded that religion was "a political force as well as a spiritual influence." Looking back at history, the bishop explained that this had always been the case as exemplified by the ancient Romans, Greeks, and Hebrews.

Though the lecturer viewed civil liberty and laws as the outgrowth of religious morality and asserted that it was better for a nation to have a bad god than no god at all, he clearly pointed out the evils of non-Christian governments by referring to them as "despotic." First citing Japan, China, and India as examples, the bishop lamented citizens' loss of liberties and constitutional rights in these countries. In addition, Galloway specifically discussed the evils of Buddhism, Confucianism, Hinduism, and Mohammedanism describing the wretched lives led by their followers while at the same time he pointed out that "only in Christian countries do we find liberal and representative government." At the end of his lecture, the bishop extended his attack to Catholicism by suggesting that it was adapted to a feudal state while Protestantism represented activity and enterprise.

Organization

In their discussion of the psychological method of arrangement, Thonssen, Baird, and Braden write that "The psychological order is determined by the predisposition or inclination of the listeners," further explaining that one means of accomplishing this is according to audience acceptability.[29] Utilizing the psychological order, Galloway arranged his major ideas so that each one was necessary to the next, finally concluding that Protestant Christianity was the answer to good government.

In addition to heightening his ethos, Galloway's introductory remarks served to introduce the lectures and to explain the purpose of his first discourse, thus preparing the listeners for his message. The discussion portion, arranged so that each point established the basis of the next idea, finally resulted in a conclusion. First, he established the connection between the spiritual and political faiths of a country and then asserted that any religion was better than none at all. After a carefully contrived transition, the bishop reasoned that non-Christian religions were less beneficial to government than Christianity. Before

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[29]Thonssen, Baird, and Braden, op. cit., p. 474.

concluding, he also criticized Romanism and asserted that Protestantism was of great value to government. Galloway's concluding remarks consisted of quotations which summed up the superiority of Protestant Christian governments over all other forms.

Forms of Support

Seeking to stress Christian benefits and influence upon government as opposed to other faiths, Galloway depended heavily upon supporting materials consisting of quotations, illustrations, contrast, examples, and analogy.

Quotations. When Galloway presented "the teachings of Christ" as "the perfect solution of all the problems of society," he developed the assertion with quotations. Discussing the countries which did not adhere to a belief in any god, the bishop supported his assertion that "Political atheism will inevitably produce political anarchy" by quoting Kishub Chunder Sen of India: "'I fear for my countrymen that they will sink from the hell of heathenism into the deeper hell of infidelity.'" Continuing to develop this point, the bishop cited Philip Schaff who warned that "'The destruction of religion would be the destruction of morality and the ruin of the state.'" Again stressing the dangers of a nation without a god, the bishop quoted David Hume,

whom he qualified as a "skeptic" but an "impartial historian and philosopher:" "'If you find a people without a religion, rest assured that they do not differ much from the brute beasts.'"

In other instances the lecturer used quotations to emphasize the value of religion in general. For example, employing the words of Professor Seeley, Galloway underscored the power of religion to give birth "'to and sustaining states or else raising them up to a second life after their destruction.'" Similarly, extolling contributions of the Christian faith to the status of women, Galloway noted the conclusion reached by Dr. Storrs who commented upon "'the tendency of Christianity,'" "'to give to woman larger opportunity, more effective control of all instruments for work: to put her side by side with man in front of all the great achievements--in letters, arts, humanities, missions.'"

Galloway also utilized quotations to discount other religions. Citing the book Christian Mission and Social Progress, the lecturer offered a sweeping generalization regarding other religions:

> 'The history of heathenism is, as a rule, marked by despotism. The old oriental empires and their modern successors are alike in this respect. Savage life has been almost invariably characterized by tyranny on the part of the rulers.'

Further developing this idea, the speaker quoted the Bishop

of Ripon, a "distinguished Parsee scholar," and Matthew Arnold to dramatize his point.

Illustration. Blending appeals to fear and revulsion, Galloway described the "Reign of Terror" in France as a means of magnifying what could happen to a nation which had no god:

> Blatant infidelity precipitated that storm of pitiless fury. The National Assembly passed a resolution deliberately declaring 'there is no God;' vacated the throne of Deity by simple resolution, abolished the Sabbath, unfrocked her ministers of religion, turned temples of spiritual worship into places of secular business, and enthroned a vile woman as the Goddess of Reason. Now, instead of larger liberty and wiser laws and more perfect peace and greater commercial and industrial prosperity, the days of anarchy and terror had just begun. That very night the storm burst, and the streets of the world's fairest city ran red with the blood of the proudest chivalry of France. What verification is that sad history of the eloquent words of Lord Macaulay: 'Whoever does anything to depreciate Christianity is guilty of high treason against the civilization of mankind.'

Especially effective was this example of a western country in that the listeners could more readily identify with the French than with citizens of India, China, and Japan.

Contrast. Throughout his lecture Galloway contrasted the other religions of the world with Christianity, demonstrating the power and benefits of the Christian faith and the degradation of non-Christian beliefs. Insisting that "The

governments of all non-Christian countries are despotic," noted that by contrast "Only in non-Christian countries do we find the evils of Buddhism, Confucianism, Hinduism, and Mohammedanism," reminding his audience that "on the other hand, Christianity teaches that every man is a sovereign." After depicting the dangers of Hinduism, Galloway reminded his audience of the "ennobling virtues of the Christian religion."

In another use of contrast Galloway asserted that "This study might be profitably extended into a comparison of Protestantism and Romanism, in their effects upon the civilization of the world." Applying this concept more specifically, the lecturer characterized as stagnant those countries which followed the Roman Catholic faith while noting that by contrast Protestantism offered "a higher grade of civilization."

Examples. In contrasting the various religions of the world with Christianity, Galloway occasionally employed examples to stress his point. To develop the assertion that "the governments of all non-Christian countries are despotic," he cited Japan, China, and India, noting that "In none of them is there any conception of the great doctrine of personal liberty, and only in modern Japan is there an approach to

civil and constitutional rights." Likewise, when Galloway stated, "From Confucianism we have an impoverished personality," he added, "The combined influence of Buddhism and Confucianism has produced the civilization of China," which he described as "a land of heavy slumber and darkness, for which there can be no awakening until it is proclaimed by Christianity's mighty angel of the resurrection." On the other hand, the bishop was careful to mention the political freedom found in Christian governments as exemplifed by Holland's struggle against Spain; England as formed by the Puritans; Scotland as made by John Knox; and America formed by the Puritans, Quakers, and Presbyterians.

Earlier in his lecture, Galloway generalized that "All the civil institutions of the ancient world were the outgrowth of religious belief, the social expressions of a spiritual faith." As support, Galloway mentioned the Roman and Greek empires, the Mohammedan states, and the Hebrew nation of Israel.

Contending that "the contribution of Hinduism to society is a degraded personality," the lecturer listed the evils of that religion, concluding that "No people can rise higher than their conception of the gods they worship." At that point, Galloway produced a list of Hindu idols as examples of the kind of gods worshipped in that religion:

> There is the stone image of Vishnu, with four arms, riding on a creature half bird, half man, or else sleeping on a serpent. There is Siva, a monster with three eyes, riding naked on a bull, with necklace of skulls for an ornament. There is Karekeye, the god of war, with six faces, riding on a peacock, and holding bow and arrow in his hands. There is Ganesa, god of success, with four hands and an elephant's head, sitting on a rat. There is Goddess Kali, with flowing hair reaching to her feet, with a necklace of human heads, her tongue protruded from her mouth, and her girdle stained with blood.

Analogy. Galloway used a string of analogies to dramatize the connection between religion and government. First he described the relationship as marriage of the two, commenting that "There is an intimate, a vital connection between the spiritual and political faiths of a people. As God hath joined them together, they cannot be put asunder." In a second analogy he contended that "The heavens and the earth are in immediate and vital relation. And no people can have politically a new earth until they have first had spiritually a new heaven." In a third comparison, the bishop turned to the Hebrew nation in the Old Testament:

> And, as in the days of the Hebrew theocracy, so in all lands and under all religions, there is a close connection between the sanctuary and the seat of judgment. The altar shapes the throne, the character of the crozier measures the strength of the scepter.

In a final analogy, referring to the "undergirding power" of religion, the lecturer suggested that religious support of government is like the structure of a building, commenting

that without religion "Their steadiest support would be withdrawn, their mightiest bulwark dismantled."

Ethical Appeals

While the bishop was a familiar figure to Methodists in the South, his contact with Emory had not been quite as extensive as with Vanderbilt and Millsaps. Galloway employed limited ethical appeals in an effort to heighten his character and create a sense of good will.

Character. In three instances, the lecturer attempted to establish his character by elevating himself and his message. He did this by first noting the prestige of Emory and secondly, by mentioning other similar lectureships which had achieved distinction, implying that his own might fall into that category:

> In accepting the kindly worded invitation of the Board of Trustees to inaugurate the series of lectures on the Quillian foundation in this historic institution, I must first express my high appreciation of the ecclesiastical statesmanship and wise beneficence displayed by the worthy founder. Similar foundations in the great universities of Europe and America have become thrones of power and have already made valuable contributions to the literature of Christian doctrine and apologetics. They have enriched the thought and stimulated the faith of modern Church. It gave me joy, therefore, to hear that a lectureship had been established in this college, and my hope is that it may take rank with others as a place of authority in high scholarship and Christian culture.

Thirdly, condemning modern historians for their tendency to ignore the influences of religion and suggesting that he intended to set the record straight, the bishop elevated himself and his message by emphasizing his worthwhile motivation behind selecting this particular subject for the series:

> Now, with the hope of contributing somewhat to the arrest of that tendency, and of aiding the students of this honored institution to a broader study of the earlier history of this American commonwealth, I have timidly ventured upon the theme of these lectures.

Good Will. First mentioning his "lack of qualification for a service of this character," he again called attention to his limitations:

> And I feel also that an apology is due because of the subject selected for these lectures. Though the study of history has for years had for me a strange fascination, I have no such special expert acquaintance with its facts or philosophy as to entitle me to speak by the authority of accurate and ample knowledge. The exacting and laborious duties of my responsible office, necessitating wearisome travel at home and abroad, and bereaving me of the delightful privileges of a library for weeks at a time, afford little opportunity for prosecuting any definite line of investigation.

While exhibiting candor in acknowledging his lack of authority in the area of history, he also presented himself as a person of humility, yet he did so with his subtle reminder of his "responsible office."

Emotional Appeals

Galloway used the emotional appeals of anger, fear,

revulsion, power, and relief from restraint to present an unattractive description of non-Christian religions and Catholicism as compared to the redeeming qualities of Protestant Christianity.

Anger. Attempting to arouse anger by mentioning the indifference of historians toward the role of religion in the formation of America, Galloway used an either-or approach. Stating that the attitude had resulted in religion being ignored in textbooks of history, Galloway placed responsibility on "either a fatal oversight or a deliberate purpose." Expanding upon this contention, the bishop noted that, "Climatic, economic, racial, and purely political forces are analyzed and properly classified," adding "but the religious factor, which more than either or all of them determined the character of our civilization and the form of our government, has received very indifferent, if not malevolent, consideration."

Fear. In an attempt to dramatize the tendency of historians to ignore the role of religion as a force in America's past, Galloway warned of future effects by declaring that "A nation ashamed of its ancestry will be despised by its posterity." The bishop revealed this tendency as a threat to "the great moral and spiritual forces that

constructed the massive framework of this mighty nation."

Revulsion. Intent upon praising Christianity while deprecating other religions, Galloway frequently appealed to the emotion of revulsion. While he presented Christianity as the answer to all problems, he viewed the governments of non-Christian lands as despotic. Drawing upon a causal relationship, he contended that "A tyrannous religion produces a political despotism. Without spiritual liberty there can be no civil freedom." Continuing he explained some of the aspects of this problem, pointing out the influence of other religions on the home as contrasted with his own faith:

> The religion that enthrones man and sanctifies the home, builds the strongest state, with the surest guarantees of enduring and increasing glory; but on the other hand, the religion that undervalues the individual and secularizes the home, that disregards personal rights and debases family relationships, of necessity exalts the state into a despotism, degrades the citizen into a mere slave, and breeds immoralities that sooner or later accomplish its ruin.

Characterizing man's place in non-Christian countries as "debased" the bishop projected a grim picture of life in those nations where "human life is cheap," especially for women who were "looked upon as slaves or animals." The bishop referred to "the family life" as "debauched" and described the harem as a "scene of bitter jealousies, fierce hostilities, and nameless debaucheries."

Galloway used extensive appeals to revulsion as he dealt specifically with some of the non-Christian religions. Severely criticizing Buddhism, Confucianism, Hinduism, and Mohammedanism, the speaker pointed out the evil features of each. Citing "A paralyzed personality" as "the legitimate and necessary product of the Buddhist creed," he continued:

> Buddha hated life and preached a gospel of annihilation. His aim was to make men know their misery, that they might willingly escape therefrom. His ultimate and hopeless end was a state of non-existence.

In describing Confucius as "opposing progress" and one who "abhorred everything new as untrue," the lecturer indicated the ill effects of Confucianism:

> Now, from such lifeless, spiritless philosophy and religion we can only expect an impoverished manhood. It has nothing on which to develop stalwart virtues and imperial manliness, nothing to stimulate noble aspirations or to satisfy the divine hunger of the deathless soul.

He also viewed "a degraded personality" to be the result of Hinduism which "brutalizes the conscience and destroys all moral distinctions," adding that "It eradicates human sympathy, annihilates compassion, hardens the heart, and intensifies selfishness." Likewise, he asserted that Mohammedanism had "produced an enslaved personality" and offered what was perhaps his most vicious attack:

> The Koran puts a premium upon war, offering the highest rewards to those who slay the greatest number of infidels. Mohammed's cardinal principle,

> that the end justifies the means, consecrated every form of deception and lying, and encouraged every sort of persecution and violence.

Having employed descriptive language in his attempts to arouse revulsion in regard to other religions as contrasted to the benefits of Christian governments, Galloway managed to project a convincingly unattractive image of countries who were not ruled by the teachings of Christ.

Power. Before characterizing Christianity as a powerful faith, a religion capable of great influence, the bishop first noted the capacity of religions in general to be "a helpful influence," "the most potential factor in a nation's life," and reasoned that governments were thus in need of "its cohesive and undergirding power." Quoting a Professor Seeley, Galloway noted that religion had the power to "sustain states or to 'raise them up to a second life after their destruction.'"

The lecturer referred to the power of the Christian faith as capable of inducing changes which "were not mere coincidences, but the effects of mighty causes potential in the gospel." Continuing, he explained that "Christian teachings were the seedthoughts of political constitutions, and Christian evangelism was the inspiration of American colonization." In fact, his purpose was to argue that "Protestant

Christianity has been the dominate influence in our nation's construction and continuation." Galloway appealed to the listeners' own desire for personal power when he noted,

> On the other hand, Christianity teaches that every man is a sovereign. It exalts the individual, places the crown of a king upon a priest in every human hand. Christ tells there is nothing greater than manhood.

Not only did Galloway emphasize the power of religion, especially that of Christianity, but he also stressed the power's ability to break the shackles of suppression. Thus, the bishop presented Christianity as a religion relevant to the world in which he lived, a religion which could "right all social wrongs and bring a new heaven and a new earth."

Relief from Restraint. As contrasted to the suppression of heathen religions, Galloway presented Christianity as capable of protecting human rights. Speaking of pagan countries, the bishop indicated that they were characterized by "the weird wail of the millions for that freedom which comes only to those who know the emancipating power of the truth as it is in Jesus." In his view, Christianity was the only religion which had any regard for humanity: "The doctrine that the state must guarantee the protection of life is purely a Christian conception." This attitude, he declared, influenced governments in that "Only in Christian

countries do we find liberal representative governments," for "The autocracies give way to republics, and royal decrees to statutes and constitutions."

Assessment

Attempting to assert the influence of religion upon government, Galloway specifically attested to the benefits of Protestant Christianity as he initiated the Quillian lectures on March 22, 1898, at Emory College in Oxford, Georgia. In a time of impending war with Spain, Galloway's remarks likely offered a degree of comfort to listeners who viewed themselves as citizens of a nation empowered through Christianity's influence over government. The address also provided inspiration, inducing the audience to reconsider the benefits of that influence, something to work toward maintaining.

Apparently the bishop prepared his first lecture with great care. First, he appeared well-researched and knowledgeable, offering numerous examples and quotations to support his assertions. Second, Galloway skillfully organized his main points to reach the conclusion that Protestant Christianity was a vitalizing force in government as contrasted to other religions which he regarded as suppressive. Each point, both major and minor, were carefully supported and provided a basis for the next, thus appearing interlinked,

as if adhering to a well thought out pre-conceived plan.

Perhaps the most notable aspects of this lecture, and of the Quillian series, were the statements expressing Galloway's views on the connection between religion and government and his attitude toward Catholicism.

Galloway's Quillian lectures, including this discourse, provide insight into his own conception of his role as a minister-political spokesman. As previously mentioned in Chapter II, Galloway supported separation of church and state though he never demonstrated any hesitation to speak out on social and political issues. By stating in "Religion and Civil Government" that "Religion is a political force as well as a spiritual influence," the bishop suggested his inability to separate the two. His observation that "all history attests the fact that religion is not only a helpful influence but that it is the most potential factor in a nation's life," also implies that he had little desire to establish a barrier between the two. While this may appear paradoxical, obviously Galloway managed to reason his way through that conflict. Apparently believing that religion was a primary factor in government, Galloway must have viewed his opportunity to state his views as a moral and civic duty. As an official of the church the bishop apparently saw his only political limitations to be that he should not hold

public office, a position he never sought.

In another contradiction, Galloway severely criticized Catholicism, a tactic far more startling than his attacks on non-Christian beliefs, especially since he was regarded as fairly tolerant of other religions. Duren reported that when traveling, the bishop attended a Methodist church if there was one. "If he could not find a Protestant church, he attended the Catholic service."[30] However, Candler, another biographer, wrote that the bishop "indulged no sentimentality about Romanism which he saw as a blot upon the Christian name and a bane in the lands in which it has prevalence and power."[31] Apparently Galloway enjoyed the friendship of the clergy in Jackson. A notice in the Advocate concerning a reception given by the ladies of the Methodist church in that city reported among the callers a Jewish rabbi as well as the Protestant ministers of the city.[32] Either there was no Catholic priests in Jackson or there was a rift between them and Galloway. That the article specified "Protestant ministers" arouses speculation in regard to the

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[30]Duren, op. cit., p. 175.

[31]Candler, op. cit., p. 116.

[32]Christian Advocate [New Orleans], July 1, 1886, p. 5.

latter possibility.[33]

This lecture cannot be judged on its immediate response. Lack of public acclaim in the local newspapers was likely because of the crisis with Spain which seemingly overshadowed the event. During the week of the Quillian lectures, the papers were filled with war news and thus his lectures were relatively unnoticed, not at all a typical reaction to Galloway's discourses.

SUMMARY

Delivering both the Cole and Quillian lectures on college campuses supported by the Methodists, Galloway faced similar audiences, consisting of students, faculty, and local church officials as well as other interested parties.

In terms of publicity, the Cole lectures were more widely acclaimed as contrasted to the apparent preoccupation of the local newspapers with the conflict over Cuba during the week of the Quillian series.

While Galloway's purpose in "The Question Stated" was

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[33] In 1906 the Roman Catholics numbered 28,576 in Mississippi or the third in size of all the religious groups in that state. Jack Winton Gunn, "Religion in the Twentieth Century," A History of Mississippi, II, ed. Richard Aubrey McLemore (Hattiesburg: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973), pp. 34-35.

an obvious attempt to secure continued support of missions, his goal in "Religion and Civil Government" was not as action-oriented since he seemed more concerned with reminding his listeners of the relation between religion and government.

The bishop utilized supporting materials consisting of analogy, examples, quotations, narration, illustration, and contrast. Emotional appeals, somewhat broader in scope, included anger, fear, power and authority, sympathy, pride, reverence of a deity, revulsion, and relief from restraint. Speaking to audiences who were aware of Galloway's position in the church, he demonstrated few efforts to heighten his image though he did establish character, sagacity, and good will to a limited degree.

While both lectures revealed careful planning in terms of organization, support, and emotional appeals, perhaps "Religion and Civil Government" was the most thought provoking, primarily because of Galloway's revelations regarding his views of religion as a factor in government and his criticism of Romanism. Printed later, both lectures were distinctive additions to the church's literature; yet, neither made any obvious mark on the events of that period.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

Charles Betts Galloway, dedicated to a variety of causes, delivered numerous speeches and sermons during his career as a minister and bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The purpose of this study was to present an analysis of Galloway's ceremonial oratory between 1893 and 1908, the latter portion of his life, his seasoned years. Of the six analyzed discourses, the occasions included two lecture series, the dedication of a new state capitol, the dedication of Millsaps College, the Seventh Annual Conference for Education in the South, and a commencement day address. Utilizing these ceremonial events, the bishop expressed his personal sentiments regarding the church's support of missions, the influence of Protestant Christianity over government, the role of the New South, the value of Christian education, educational and legal justice for blacks, and the actions of Jefferson Davis and the South before and during the Civil War.

Presenting addresses which were carefully organized, Galloway employed supporting material consisting of restatement, examples, statistics, comparison, contrast, analogy,

illustration, narration, and quotations. His use of emotional appeals, somewhat broader in scope, included appeals to loyalty, anger, fear, pride, power, reverence of deity, reverence of a leader, independence, sympathy, reputation, building, self respect, revulsion, and freedom from restraint. Perhaps because the bishop had already achieved recognition and respect at the time of these addresses, he made few attempts to enhance his ethos. In fact, when employed, his limited attempts to heighten good will, character, and sagacity were almost invariably confined to his introductory remarks. Seldom did he offer praise of himself, but rather chose to comment upon the significance of the event or topic. Another distinctive element of his speaking, the use of southern myths, was generally employed for the purpose of reawakening pride within the southern psyche in order that the people of that region might more readily accept the challenge of the New South. While Galloway avoided the White Supremacy myth, he sometimes depended upon the Old South, New South, and Lost Cause myths.

The bishop evidently researched his speech topics with great care, for his personal scrapbook contains clippings of quotations, lines of verse, etc., suggesting that he maintained these for use in his public discourses. Occasionally his oratory resembled earlier speakers, suggesting

Galloway's tendency to duplicate rather than to originate. For example, the bishop's defense of Jefferson Davis in "The Life and Times of Jefferson Davis" utilized the same argument concerning the constitutional right of a state to secede as employed by Albert Taylor Bledsoe in "Is Davis a Traitor or Was Secession a Constitutional Right Previous to 1861?"[1] In "The South and the Negro" Galloway employed the same separate-but-equal theory of the relation of whites and blacks as Booker T. Washington in his "Atlanta Exposition Address."[2] Then too, in his "Oration at the New State Capitol of Mississippi" Galloway described the Confederate soldier who returned home after the war as defeated in battle but undefeated in spirit, resembling Henry Grady's characterization in "The New South."[3]

Galloway became a New South orator as early in his career as 1872 as demonstrated by his address at the First Annual Fair of the Yazoo Agricultural Society in which he stressed conciliation with the North. The young minister

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[1]Richard M. Weaver, The Southern Tradition at Bay: A History of Post-Bellum Thought (New Rochelle, New York: Arlington House, 1968), p. 118.

[2]A. Craig Baird, American Public Addresses, 1740-1952 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956), p. 191.

[3]Ibid., p. 183.

also urged the South to look to the future with hope and to avoid emulation of the captive Hebrews who mourned over the past; rather he advised the South to listen "to the call of duty, go whither it leads and do what ever it commands." Seeking to create a sense of competition with the "Inventive Yankee" who had made their region productive "while a thousand energies have slumbered within us unfelt," he entreated the South to seek her salvation in agriculture and thus "rebuild in splendor the shattered dome of our fallen greatness."[4]

While the bishop sought to redeem the image of the South in such speeches as his "Oration at the Dedication of the New Capitol of Mississippi" and "The Life and Times of Jefferson Davis," praising the South and condemning Yankee interference, he also stressed cooperation and national unity. Perhaps some of his reasoning rested upon his own practical nature which saw the need for northern money. Woodward notes that though the Protestant churches in the South resisted a forced reunion with the northern branches during Reconstruction, this feeling began to dissolve as "the churches with their huge publishing houses, their large

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[4]Charles Betts Galloway Papers, "An Address" (Galloway's personal scrapbook at Millsaps College, Jackson, Mississippi.

investments in colleges, universities, and schools, and their private endowments became vested interests," causing them to become dependent upon northern money for such projects.[5]

In some ways, Galloway was similar to the other New South spokesmen of that era as characterized by Gaston. First, born in 1848, he was too young to have served in the war but did witness the effects. Like many of the other spokesmen, Galloway reached maturity during Reconstruction, thus seeing the plight of the South to be not the war, but a consequence of it. Furthermore Galloway and other New South men urged industrialization of that region and projected a future with a healthy economy. Specifically, Galloway held other traits in common with the spokesmen. Like Walter Hines Page of North Carolina and Richard Hathaway Edmonds of Virginia, Galloway wanted educational benefits for blacks and whites. Like Henry Woodfin Grady of Georgia, the bishop saw the Negro as essential for economic progress in the South. Like Bishop Atticus Green Haygood of Georgia and Henry Watterson of Kentucky, he sought an end to sectionalism. Of the same opinion as Haygood and Watterson, Galloway wanted

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[5]C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913, A History of the South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), pp. 171-173.

civil rights in terms of legal protection for blacks. Like Page, Galloway acknowledged the novel qualities of the South's past, but urged that region to move forward.[6]

While the South possessed a scattering of prominent New South advocates largely centered in the southeastern states of the Carolinas, Tennessee, Georgia, and Virginia, Mississippi, located in the deep South, apparently boasted of only one major spokesman, Charles Galloway. First in his early speeches urging the South to take its place as a part of a reunited nation, Galloway ultimately took up more controversial positions such as educational benefits for blacks, only after he was firmly established as a bishop and as a beloved leader in Jackson and throughout the state and region. Perhaps his awareness of the Negro's plight arose out of his contact with the black population in Jackson. As industries began to move into Mississippi, the blacks sought work in the newly formed factories. They established a flourishing business district consisting of Negro-owned banks, bakeries, drug firms, undertaking firms, real estate agents, contracting business, and a theatre.[7] Clearly

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[6]Paul M. Gaston, The New South Creed (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), pp. 48-174.

[7]Nannie Pitts McLemore, "The Progressive Era," A History of Mississippi, I, ed. Richard Aubrey McLemore (Hattiesburg: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973), p. 40.

that black population contained individuals of intelligence and ambition; Galloway must have realized their potential worth, thereby justifying his leadership of their causes. Though always advocating national unity, the bishop occasionally attacked the North, asserting that the North shared partial blame for the war, had victimized the South during Reconstruction, and was guilty of interference in matters which could be best handled by the South. Galloway was a man caught in the conflict of an adult acknowledging that slavery was wrong while remembering his childhood exposure to the hard times of war and Reconstruction. Certainly his years as a college student at the University of Mississippi during that period immediately following the war and in daily contact with teachers and students who were veterans influenced Galloway's attitudes. It was thus only natural that he should be capable of looking back with nostalgia for the old order, occasionally expressing bitterness toward the invaders, but a feeling of hope and progress for the future. As a citizen, a southerner, and a minister, perhaps Galloway felt a responsibility to exert as much influence as possible toward building a new era in that region. In his latter years Galloway had little to lose by gently espousing causes, some even unpopular, for he was well established in the church as a bishop. Unlike political figures, he did not

have to worry about the next election; unlike ministers, he did not have to be concerned that he would be relocated in another church. Beloved both by Methodists and the people as a whole, Galloway possibly concluded that he was a logical person to assume the role of a New South spokesman.

Not totally dominated by unrealistic idealism, Galloway's orations reveal a practical strategist. For example, while he sought to eliminate the fears among white southerners that education for blacks would result in the breakdown of social and political barriers, he utilized appeals to fear in stressing the importance of a Christian environment for a college student away from home. While the circumstances of his ceremonial speeches were happy occasions, the orator never hesitated to interject mild criticism or espouse a cause, but through his use of positive ideas held in high esteem by his audience, he managed to do so tactfully and with good taste. Whatever his cause, Galloway always offered hope for the future. Often careful to appear objective, the bishop insured a more favorable hearing from his listeners; and in establishing his own point of view, he presented his case as the only solution while at the same time he offered a grim and undesirable picture of his opponents. Galloway worked as best he could with whatever opportunities

were available. For example, the presence of veterans at the dedication of the new state capitol offered him a symbol of the South's past greatness, which he transformed into proof of that region's future potential. The birthdate of Jefferson Davis provided the bishop with the opportunity to praise and redeem the South's self image via Davis as a symbol for that region. During the final phase of his speaking career the bishop relied upon a wealth of personal experience to see him through his task of promoting Christianity, the New South, and other causes. Galloway's knowledge of that region, his extensive travels, and his education served as sources and guided his tactics as he planned his discourses.

Even today, a visitor in Jackson, Mississippi, can still find physical traces of Galloway's prominence. Within walking distance of the new state capitol is Galloway Memorial Methodist Church which houses a small room dedicated to his memory and contains a few bits of memorabilia. Across the street from the church stands the Victorian-style parsonage built for Dr. Galloway and his family, today the residence of a descendant.

But did his oratory make any impact upon the lives of Mississippians? To answer such a question is difficult. However, from the beginning to the end of his speaking

career. Galloway seemed destined to assert influence over social and political issues, and to determine the course of events within Mississippi.

When during the early years in the ministry he presented medals to the outstanding speakers of the junior class at the University of Mississippi, Galloway showed promise of future success:

> The universal verdict was that he made a perfect job of it. Mr. Galloway is comparatively a young man, a close student, and a man of brilliant gifts. He is rapidly mastering the art of oratory and we predict a great career for him.[8]

And apparently he did master the art of public address. Chapter II of this study notes several of his oratorical achievements such as the influence of his Cole lectures, his ability to raise funds for the establishment of Galloway and Millsaps colleges, his power to secure money for the oriental missions, his contributions toward keeping Mississippi dry during the prohibition movement, and the fact that President Theodore Roosevelt sought his advice on matters pertaining to the South.

Though his speeches and sermons generally received favorable responses, he was not always able to sway public actions. Probably his most notable defeat was his inability

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[8]Charles Betts Galloway Papers (Galloway's personal scrapbook at Millsaps College, Jackson, Mississippi).

to affect the voters during James Kimble Vardaman's campaign for governor of Mississippi. Even the ethos of Galloway could not stop Vardaman's election which was aided by a number of developments:

> Vardaman's campaign was helped by national events. President Theodore Roosevelt had offended white Southerners by having Booker T. Washington to lunch at the White House. When white citizens at Indianola forced the black postmistress, Mrs. Minnie Cox, to resign, the president closed the post office. Vardaman called the president a 'bronco-busting nigger lover,' and white farmer audiences howled their approval.[9]

Possibly because "It was generally agreed by the opposition that his [Vardaman's] election was due to the revival of the white supremacy question," a year later when delivering "The South and the Negro" the bishop answered that myth with his own assurances that educational opportunities for blacks would not result in social mingling of the races and that whites would remain the superior race.[10]

Regardless of his political stands, Galloway was immensely popular in Mississippi which in itself seemed to guarantee cordial listeners in significant numbers. For

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[9]James W. Loewen and Charles Sallis, Mississippi: Conflict and Change (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), pp. 192-193.

[10]Albert D. Kirwan, Revolt of the Rednecks, Mississippi Politics, 1876-1925 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1951), p. 160.

example, a notice describing Galloway's farewell sermon to his congregation at Jackson refers to the gathering as "one of the largest audiences we have ever assembled in Jackson. The church was filled at an early hour. By agreement services were suspended at the Baptist, Christian, and Presbyterian churches."[11] A similar response occurred in 1907 when the Jackson Evening News announced that "Bishop Charles B. Galloway will occupy the pulpit at the First Methodist Church Sunday morning at 11 o'clock," adding that hundreds were expected to celebrate his recovery from an illness.[12] The following week the paper reported the event as follows:

> Hundreds were turned away at the doors of the First Methodist Church Sunday morning, unable to gain admittance to hear the sermon delivered at the 11 o'clock service by Bishop Charles B. Galloway.[13]

The extent of Galloway's popularity was especially apparent at his death. On the day of his funeral, May 13, 1909, the federal, state, and municipal buildings of Jackson closed for the day. Long before the service, the church filled with mourners who overflowed into the surrounding streets. The

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[11] Charles Betts Galloway Papers (Galloway's personal scrapbook at Millsaps College).

[12] Jackson Evening News, March 23, 1907 (page number illegible).

[13] Jackson Evening News, March, 1907 (page number illegible).

Negro preachers of the city sent a floral piece and requested that black mourners be allowed to follow Galloway's body to the cemetery.[14]

Galloway's influence cannot be limited to or assessed by the number of pledges, the amount of funds raised, or votes influenced, for there is no way of knowing how much his oratory touched individual lives in subtle ways. A person of his favorable standing could not help but serve as a powerful force. Twenty-five years after his death, the New Orleans Christian Advocate summed up Galloway's importance as an orator: "With the single exception of S. S. Prentice, Bishop C. B. Galloway was the greatest orator Mississippi has ever produced."[15] While to some degree this may be an accurate description of his oratorical abilities and influence, Galloway's primary significance seems to be as a forerunner of others who were to follow. Limited by the circumstances of his era and region, ahead of his time in many respects, Galloway prepared the way for progressive ideas in Mississippi. His oratory marked the beginning of a long

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[14]Warren Akin Candler, Bishop Charles Betts Galloway (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1927), pp. 291-292.

[15]Christian Advocate [New Orleans], December 29, 1934, p. 7.

and arduous campaign for progress and civil liberties that continues even now.

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VITA

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EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Charlene Jeanette Handford

Major Field: Speech

Title of Thesis: A Rhetorical Study of Selected Ceremonial Speeches of Charles Betts Galloway, 1893-1908

Approved:

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

Date of Examination:

July 24, 1979